

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

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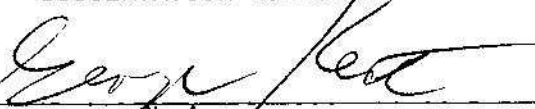
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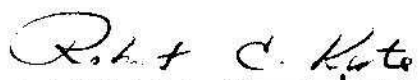
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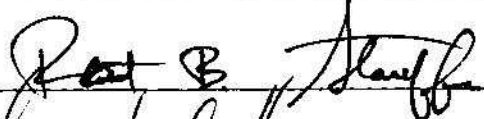
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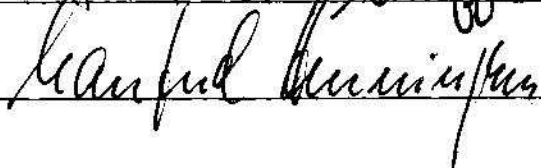
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## ABSTRACT

The Solomon Islands villagers like so many of their Pacific island cousins have become preoccupied with the idea of "development." Unfortunately, development as conventionally practiced has brought various types of underdevelopment: village decay, flight to the city, and dangerous social and economic inequalities.

However, there is another way to understand the development process. This dissertation takes development to mean the transformation of human-kind's consciousness--a spiritual, cultural and political issue and only secondarily an economic question.

In order to help village people appreciate and strengthen their life-style and to better understand a fuller meaning of the development process, I returned to the 'Are'are people of Southern Malaita to share with them ways of creating, sustaining and strengthening development in a transformational mode.

The method used to reach out to the scattered, small village populations featured dialogue, accented communal involvement and was praxis-oriented. By involving local people as paraprofessionals who toured their own areas as Mobile Teams, the villagers of West 'Are'are experienced a unique form of development education. An important result of these workshops was their ability to create a new shared experience for villagers.

This development education was especially enhanced by two group exercises which encouraged dialogue--the Development Wheel and the Village Quality of Life Index. The index had the added attraction of

helping to translate development theory into practical, workable, everyday actions. Development became an internal struggle on a personal level as well as on the collective one.

There now exists a local development agency--the Solomon Islands Development Trust--which operates a village-outreach program in all seven provinces. It uses the same development philosophy and methodology introduced in Southern Malaita in 1980. Provincial authorities, the Central Government and international funding agencies are following this program with keen interest and are financially backing its operations.

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## CHAPTER I

### TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

#### 1.1 Objectives

The need for accelerating the development of rural people is urgent. Many developing nations are experiencing insufficient employment opportunities in urban areas for the growing numbers of unemployed rural laborers drifting into their cities. One of the major reasons for the drift is the substantial rural population increase while the cultivated land-area persistently declines. Another factor in rural decline is that, in spite of some increases in agriculture production, the physical living conditions for many people are deteriorating from already low levels. Increases in agricultural production, if they come, too often occur on large holdings. Small farmers and landless laborers, who comprise the great majority, get little benefit from advances in technology. Dangerous social and economic inequalities are on the rise with no easy solution on the horizon.

These pervasive conditions and trends have led many development specialists (Arrighi, 1970; Friedmann, 1979; Goulet, 1979; Griffin, 1974; and Keen, 1979) to focus greater attention on strategies primarily oriented toward the needs of the villager. In the past much development writing has concentrated on two major strategies for promoting rural development: increasing greater economic resources in the rural areas (Johnson, 1977) and the introduction of new technologies to the rural person (Brown, 1975; Stavenhagen, 1975). The first strategy assumes



that the major obstacle blocking rural advancement has been the lack of and inefficient use of economic resources. The second argues that the main gap has been technological--absence of experts and advanced know-how applied scientifically in the rural areas. These positions take for granted that the necessary local organizational efforts and institutions would somehow create themselves and the rural communities would accommodate themselves to the economic and technological inputs created by centralized bureaucracies.

Lack of adequate rural organizational efforts and local institutions seems to be a most critical factor affecting development of rural people. Leaders of countries like Yugoslavia, Japan, Israel, Egypt, Taiwan, China, Sri Lanka and Korea have recognized that there was an organizational and institutional gap in their development efforts (Uphoff, 1974: 29). They understood that local organizational efforts do make a difference, cannot be taken for granted, rarely emerge spontaneously and are essential to the implementation of a successful rural development policy. Organization, then, is essential to human development. In effect, local organization can be understood as a kind of social capital, as a generalized tool that may be created for one set of purposes, but which can be adapted to the achievement of others. Rural organization and institutions should be seen as an important variable in any strategy of development of rural people, comparable to material resources and technologies. The purpose of this study is to explore this vital dimension in the development of village people in Solomon Islands.

The basic aim of this study is to strengthen village organizational efforts in improving the quality of village life in West 'Are'are on

on the island of Malaita in the Solomon Islands. To achieve this goal, the study has a number of specific objectives:

1. To understand the history of West 'Are'are organizational efforts and its relationship to village development;
2. To establish ways of creating local organizations geared to village improvement.
3. To identify methods of strengthening the capabilities of local organizational efforts in their quest for improving life in the village.
4. To create ways for villagers themselves to measure the quality of village life.
5. To formulate recommendations and guidelines:
  - a) for local organizational efforts and their place in village development,
  - b) for promoting participation in village organizations, and
  - c) for the use of paraprofessionals in village development.

## 1.2 Meaning of Development

Conventional wisdom equates development with material well-being since there are severe material shortages in many parts of the developed and developing world. Disease is rampant, ignorance endemic, health infrastructure absent, and a host of other material needs necessary for a minimal human existence are scarcely found. The rush to fill these gaps is laudable, but that should not be confused with development.

Development efforts should focus on the internal struggle each person and each community faces in order to grow, to transcend itself.

It should be viewed as a process that begins in the head and only then proceeds to things. Undoubtedly human creativity requires a minimum level of material goods, but these levels are conditions for development, not development itself. Development is understood here as a transformation of humankind's consciousness--a spiritual, cultural and political issue and only secondarily as an economic question.

This transformation process has both negative and positive aspects. Negatively, it means undermining false consciousness (basic to the work of Paulo Freire)--unmasking those thought patterns and assumptions which put people into undue distress and fear. This process helps to release people from their self-estrangement and restore them to themselves so that they are made free once again to contribute to society and other people. Positively, the development process means creating an atmosphere in which people and communities can transform and alter their consciousness in a constructive way.

Both the negative aspect of unmasking erroneous thought-patterns and the positive part of creating a growth-filled atmosphere are directed to the internal transformation of the person as well as the community. A new consciousness is not created simply by physical contact with modern improvements: beautiful houses don't make beautiful people. Outside objects and agents can play only a catalytic role, never a dominating, directive one. Just as no one can breathe or grow for another, so development is an internal function of persons and communities, helped or hindered by external things.

Development requires a metanoia, a basic shift of the person-in-community and community-of-persons from being dominated, controlled and

manipulated to becoming subjects, architects and molders of their own future.

Such an interior focus demands shifts in both the attitudes and the methods of persons working in transformational development.

### 1.2.1 Attitudinal Perspectives

To work toward a transformation of humankind's consciousness all parties involved in the development process should have specific perspectives regarding political apathy, the humanization of life, structural analysis and attitudes toward women.

#### a. Combating Political Apathy

Development concerns political realities, yet modern people suffer a reduction of their true selves. Rather than be publicly engaged in discussing the many forces which are changing their lives, they are much more concerned and primarily engaged as workers and consumers. In short, much of their lives center on making a living. Their one form of public participation, voting, fails to meet their desire to publicly discuss the major issues impacting on their lives--goals of society, what is the make-up of the good life, and basic needs of persons. Voting in the political process has been elevated to the highest (and for many, the only) form of political participation within the modern state. A political class--those concerned with government--has relegated the active, on-going discourse on public business to themselves. Yet the development of peoples means understanding and working within the political sphere of life.

No amount of technical, administrative or economic manipulation adequately addresses the deep-seated and historically rooted problems of rural poverty: high rates of unemployment, low-levels of productivity, poor education opportunities combined with inadequate health care and high population growth rates. These feed upon each other creating a vicious circle of rural misery.

Simply extending the scope of democratic participation is obviously unequal to the task of understanding, planning and tackling this multi-level development problem. No matter how often one is allowed to use the ballot box, if fewer and fewer individuals have the power to determine who gets what at what cost, then there can be no development of people. What such periodic political participation really amounts to is a proscribed and limited sending of "messages" to outside centers of control. Empowering rural communities and institutions for the good of the nation as a whole is the real "bottom line" rural development.

Development of peoples means active citizen participation in a robust, interdependent and articulate political community--a social formation that creates a healthy tension between individual and collective powers. This activity means a community publicly discussing issues vital to its life and working together to shape them to strengthen itself. Many development researchers (Meehan, 1978; Owens and Shaw, 1972; Uphoff and Esman, 1974) agree that local organizations which:

- are responsive to the needs of the rural poorest,
- are compatible with local conditions, both physical and social and,
- ensure an equitable spread of benefits among people

strongly influence conditions contributing to development of people (Friedmann, 1978:2). By highlighting the basic concerns of people, local organizations widen and concretize the concept of political participation. Rather than limiting participation to simply voting every four years, for instance, a politically responsible community responds to issues through public discussion and cooperation in programs for the community's own development.

#### b. Commitment to the Humanization of Life

In contrast to modernization theory with its emphasis on economic growth, transformational development focuses on the person. People are what development is all about; it is bent upon helping humanity. Development work must address poverty and the deep scarring process of hunger. Much more than escape from misery, disease, and ignorance, development means an effort to root out these conditions at their source. It means doing two things at once: producing physical changes (water supplies, better health, adequate nutrition) and people-change (for example, no person, no group, would seek to "progress" at the expense of others). Development should mean greater self-direction, a coming to maturity and enriching experience of a person and a people.

Such a humanization of life takes place within a context which insures the protection and growth of individual members. That context is community. Community is both the product and the process of development stressing humanization of life. Such development could profitably be understood in terms of people coming to see themselves more and more as community; so that a major indicator of successful humanization would be

the cohesiveness, unity and depth of community relationships in their drive for development. Each community is composed of individuals whose physical, psychological, spiritual and transcendent needs and aspirations are addressed without jeopardizing the basic needs of other individuals. A community's goals and purposes cannot be absolutized or deified but should be kept in dynamic and creative tension with the needs and rights of all individuals.

#### c. A Structural Aspect

There seems to be two basic ways of looking at any society: the actor-view and the structure-view. The actor-view relates action to the intention and capability of the actor, while the structure-view understands action as a function of the position of the actor. Neither view is complete by itself, both are necessary for a proper understanding of society (Galtung, 1980:30).

In development as described here, we stress the structural aspect by continuously raising the question: Why do resources tend to accumulate in such unequal ways? The answer is that actors are tied to each other in such patterns as to insure unequal distribution. The 1960s and early 1970s saw the emergence of a group of development thinkers (Frank, Freire, Illich, Galtung) who urged that development be studied within a concrete context, one that not only took present-day facts into account but focused on the historical past and the complete development atmosphere of the country in question. For example, modernization theory states that traditional village practices and lack of savings are two important factors in underdevelopment. The transformational theory, on the other hand, accenting a structural view of society, counters this

argument. Development is not an autonomous process taking place solely within the underdeveloped society. Rather this process is deeply influenced by the international context in which development takes place. The international system's profound inequalities of wealth, justice and autonomy limit developing countries' ability to act freely and responsibly for their own people. Within countries' borders there are, as well, distorting structures--bias in favor of military, police, worker, bureaucrat and rural elite--which combine to protect the status quo.

#### d. Favoring the Poorest

At the heart of the development stance emphasizing the transformation of consciousness is a partiality to the oppressed, the poorest of the poor, the marginal people of the world. This bias functions as a developmental predisposition. The conventional development model has stressed that the benefits of economic growth would slowly trickle down from the modern sector to the traditional. The assumption here is that underdevelopment is an original state of a people due to the survival of archaic institutions, traditional peasant practices and lack of capital. Dependency theorists (Dos Santos, 1973; Frank, 1972; and Senghaas, 1973) reject this assumption and claim that underdevelopment is "a constituent part of the international societies dominated by the capitalist metropolis" (Senghaas, 1973). In other words, the very process of modernization causes underdevelopment to happen. More telling is the fact that the trickle-down theory has not worked in practice. The gaps in income levels, access to social services, and political power between the "haves" and the "have-nots" have not closed but too often widen. Rather than favor the well-to-do, a transformational development



model seeks the fulfillment of the basic needs of all in society, but starts off with the poorest.

#### e. Positive Attitude Toward Women

Historically, Third World development, like development worldwide, is male-dominated, male-oriented. Most Solomonese villages, for example, have experienced a relatively great increase of income during the 1970s. But the wealth has not been invested in family well-being. Rather the extra money went to buy luxury goods like outboard engines, soccer shoes and beer.

Women too often suffer periphery relationships to their society in much the same way the Third World nations stand in subservient and second-rate positions to dominant countries. Such a position strikes to the very core of development understood as an interior, inter-person directed phenomenon. Women should be encouraged and helped to enter into the dialogue about the political, economic and cultural issues which affect their lives.

### 1.2.2 Methodology of the Development Facilitator

Working in a transformational development mode calls upon the development facilitator to exercise a fresh approach, to stress perspectives different from the conventional development model.

One would be hard pressed to find a recent development study which does not mention the need for participation on the part of developing peoples. Success for both the conventional and the transformational development models depends upon active, intelligent and dedicated participation on the part of both leaders and followers, but

participation is an umbrella concept covering a wealth of meaning. One person may feel that participation happens when a villager stoically endures a weekly harangue by the headman, but for another it may require active public discussion and project involvement. If participation is to have concrete, operational significance in the transformation of human-kind's consciousness, then we should address the fundamental issues of the nature, scope and quality of participation. What kind of participation should there be, by whom, and how should it be carried out?

### 1.2.3 The Form of Participation

The transformational development model places as much emphasis on the development process as it does on the final product. What kind of procedures a community experiences in achieving a desired goal--such as making potable water available--is as critical to development as the final product--abundant, clean water. A government agency rolling in a three-ton rig, boring a 100 meter hole and installing an expensive diesel pump may feel good about achieving its object. But villagers who seek active participation in the decision-making processes of generating community support for a village water supply, identifying local resources for the well-drilling, and agreeing to methods of water distribution effect a different development process. The goal may be the same and the end product in both cases is water, but the processes would be vastly different.

#### a. Dialogue

Development calls for a series of decisions on many levels of society, by numerous actors, not just one single bureaucratic decision

such as "village x is next in line for well-drilling." Decision-making is a process, not just a single act at a point in time. It is this realization that has moved development experts to insist that some kind of decentralized decision-making is an essential element of participation (De Vries, 1978; Friedmann, 1979; Uphoff, Cohen and Goldsmith, 1976).

The development facilitator should be in the business of inventing ways for people to lift themselves from passivity into actively taking hold of their history and shaping it. No foreign culture, society or individual has the right to impose a world view on another. To the extent that outsiders accept this view, they will bow out of competing with social forces rightly shaping developing peoples.

Dialogue--open two-way communication--exemplifies the renunciation of imposition. It is a process of creating a common union between teacher and learner, between villagers themselves in which all parties share ideas so to better understand and ultimately change their worlds (Friere, 1970:79), but dialogue is not a process centering on speech. It must begin there, but its full potential is only realized when all parties to the dialogue are open to growth so that there is development, no matter how different, for all concerned. No longer can development be seen as a one-way street; it becomes a dialectical process where each of the participants transcend themselves in different ways. The dialogical method protects the development facilitator from the temptation to dominate because no one party controls the agenda.

## b. People's Experience

The dialogical method stresses continual interchange between people and leaders, between community and external agencies, and between local and government organizations to insure decision making remains a process. In the minds of some, a group of people ratifying with sweat-labor a plan drawn up by strangers counts as participation. Insistence that a development plan evolves through a dialogical procedure safeguards the essence of authentic participation.

The dialogical method shifts development from being a speculative and deductive exercise to one rooted in the experience of people. Development seen in this light embraces a holistic approach to the human experience. Information is passed through the prism of personal experiences, observation, memory and history. Development, therefore, becomes less an exercise of planning for others than a means for persons and communities to get in touch with their most important experiences, understand them, look in another direction and follow through in accordance with their new vision.

Villagers deepen their participatory involvement when they contribute from their own resources to the carrying out of a development plan, project proposal or communal work. Time, labor and material resources of participants, however, do not exhaust the possibilities of how people can contribute. A development plan should engage their very life experiences. Too often the poorest "participate" disproportionately in a project through their labor digging trenches, carrying sand and gravel and laying pipes for a water system, while their knowledge, information and skills remain untapped. They are likely to have skills

and knowledge regarding such things as conflict resolution, traditional cooperation and local resource. A people's experience should become a vital resource contributing to any development project.

### c. Communal Focus

The benefit structure in a transformational development model accents a communal return rather than individual reward. In the traditional view of development each individual's return for his/her labor indicated that development was working properly. This study emphasizes the communal dimension of benefits as an indispensable protection of individual rights. Communal self-reliance in food production, for instance, strengthens community as well as individual development. Many of the major characteristics of a vibrant people like cohesiveness and strength of resolve can only be assured if the community itself controls the basic needs of its life. If outside forces or external agencies dictate the conditions of growth and life, then no community, much less an individual, can effectively plan for itself.

In the conventional development model, emphasis is placed on individual rewards such as increased incomes, land holdings, or trade store shares. A transformational model opts for a benefit structure advocating "quality of life" issues in the form of increased educational opportunities, availability of services (medical, social and administrative) and amenities (transport, repair facilities). Stressing a communal return in development projects often yields better return to the poorest participants than projects which concentrate primarily on individual rewards.

#### d. Praxis Orientation

The evolving methodology for the transformational model is praxis oriented. Rooted in people's experience and in renunciation of imposition, praxis is a dialectic between reflection and action, between deeper understanding of reality and activity to transform reality.

How much praxis should enter into the development process? Earlier development wisdom emanating from the dominant countries often simply became idealism. Theory and practice drifted apart and lost sight of concern for the ordinary person. It did so because its reasoning was quite devoid of a dialogical relation with experience, commitment and action. But praxis brings to the dialogue narrative, memory, imagination and learning from doing. Praxis becomes a way of keeping the whole development exercise honest.

Table 1 contrasts development according to the conventional model with what we have termed the transformational model. Transforming consciousness of persons and communities requires not only specific attitudes for all in the development process but reflect a new methodology as well. With Tanzania's former President Nyerere, I believe that development is the process of changing people and communities:

People cannot be developed: they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give the man the pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. These things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He develops himself by making his own knowledge and ability, and by his own full participation--as an equal--in the life of a community he lives in . . . he is not being developed if he is herded like an animal into a new venture. (Nyerere, 1967:2)

Table 1

## Characteristics of the Conventional and Transformational Development Models

MODEL	CONVENTIONAL MODEL	TRANSFORMATIONAL MODEL
1. Objective	National economic growth bringing well-being to persons	Well-being and liberation of person and community
2. Process	Dynamic economy brings persons into economic interdependence	A transformation of personal and communal consciousness
3. Practice	<p>Deepen person's close linkage with modern sector of society</p> <p>Persons live, work and interact with modern economic system.</p>	<p><u>Attitudinal Prerequisites:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- political consciousness</li> <li>- humanization</li> <li>- structural aspect</li> <li>- favoring poorest</li> <li>- positive attitude toward women</li> </ul> <p><u>Methodology:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dialogical</li> <li>- people's experience</li> <li>- communal focus</li> <li>- praxis oriented</li> </ul>
4. Technique	Includes more involved interaction with modern economy; job employment, formal schooling, cash economy, media contact, commercial transactions.	Includes the use of local organizational efforts through which the villagers participate with their leaders by focusing on improving the quality of village life.

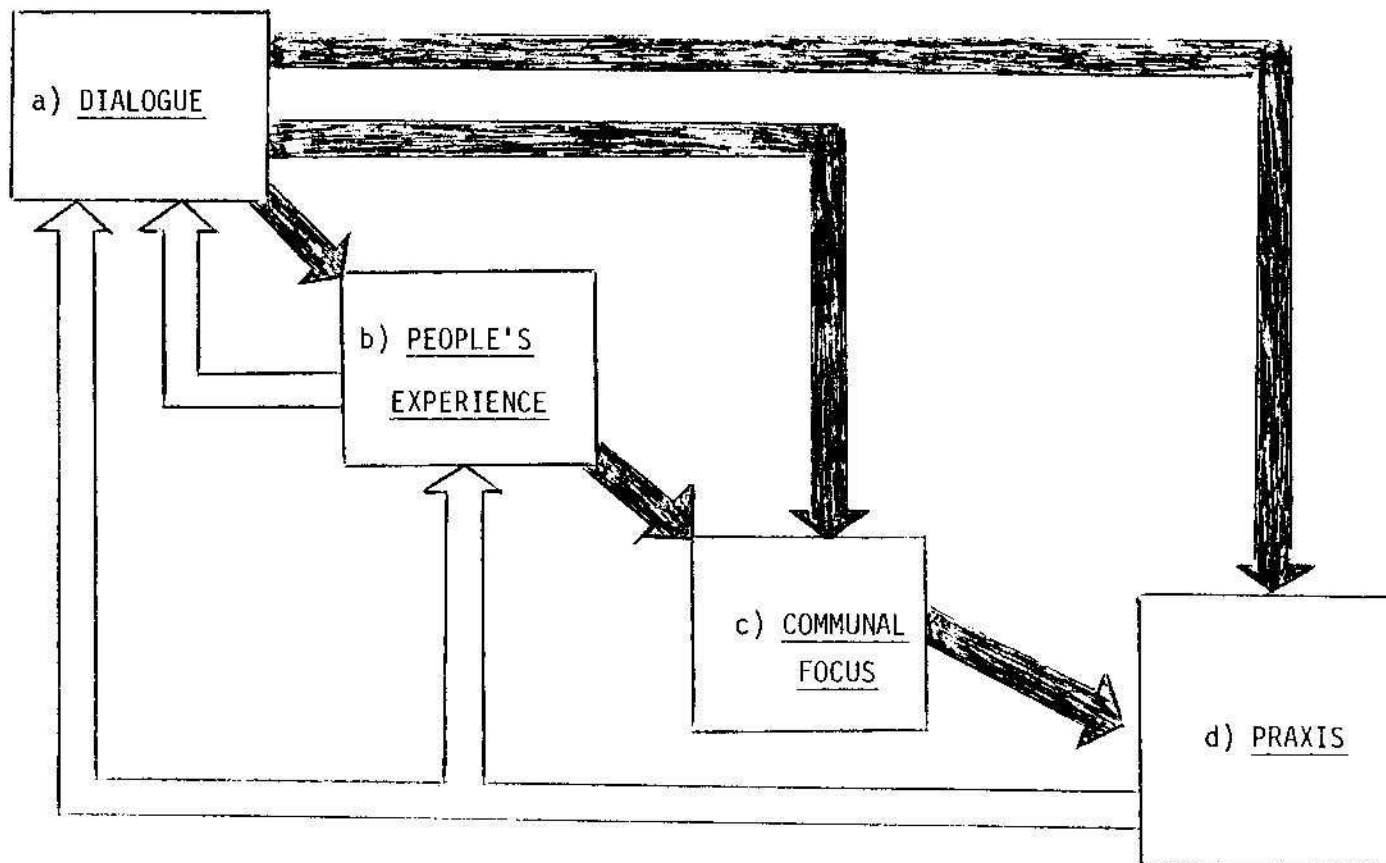
These, then, constitute the essential elements of the what of participation--(a) dialogue, (b) people's experience, (c) communal focus and (d) praxis. Taken together they make up something of a cycle for a transformational development model.

Figure 1 shows the four dimensions of participation and suggest the interaction among them. Villagers dialoguing among themselves, and with the field staff of government agencies would be the initial step in a village water supply project. A people's experience in their other development projects, their failures as well as their successes, would have an immediate feedback effect on the dialogical process. Both factors would be brought to bear on the community's perception of the nature of the benefits and costs for their communal involvement. All three elements in turn feed into praxis (illustrated by the black arrows). Communal dialogue, then, which involves villagers and external agents, would encompass all three parts of participation--people's experiences, communal benefit focus and praxis--even before the first physical acts of the water supply project such as site preparation, resource hauling and general labor are begun.

This process puts little value on a blueprint approach to project development. The best mix of ingredients of how best to accomplish project goals such as providing potable water would be different for each community. As insights are gained into how things will go, the attention of villagers as well as the agencies' workers would be redirected to learning how best to accomplish the goals in mind.

Once the labor section of a project is well under way, a feedback process from the actual working out of the project remains to be





Adapted from J. M. Cohen and N. T. Uphoff, Rural Development Participation: Concepts, and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation (Ithaca, N.Y.: Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, 1977), p. 8.

Figure 1. Characteristics of Participation

assessed. The on-going project affects both a people's dialogue and experience (see Figure 1). Connected with the dialectic, intertwined with the practice of actually working on the water supply project, is another dialectic, the dialectic between reflection and action, between deeper understanding of reality and activity to transform reality. Neither theory nor knowledge are properly grasped apart from involvement with them, apart from action to change them, apart from action to enable reality to realize its full possibilities. Therefore understanding, including development reflection, ultimately is a "matter of the Head, and the Heart and the Hands" (Rayan, 1979:95).

The various stages represented in the diagram (Figure 1) simply are what in reality may be a very disorderly and largely intuitive process. In practice these elements seldom make a very neat or complete cycle. The abstraction helps to explain what would maximize the results accruing to all from following such a participatory model.

#### 1.2.4 The Who of Participation

In the previous section we spoke about the content, the "what" of participation. Now we turn to the who of participation. Many development agents assume that popular participation slows down projects, injects needless complications and generally adds little to the final outcome. A number of studies (Elliot, 1975; Migda, 1974; and Esman, 1974), however, show up the weakness of such a stance. These indicate that without local participation development results limped even in the best of projects. In the past decade, many development planners significantly changed in their theory and practice concerning the role and function of participation.

"Popular participation," in fact, has become a slogan. In its generalized form it fails to pinpoint who is to participate. Transformational development seeks clarification in distinguishing clearly what types of people should participate in the development process. Local residents and their leaders may in some cases be an effective way of understanding "popular participation." However, projects which affect many lives, such as the construction of agricultural waterways, the question of who should be included in "popular participation," should be studied carefully. The self-sufficient farmers, landowners, craftsmen and their respective leaders are all local residents. Yet if the water-way project would fail to include other local residents--the marginal farmers, tenants, landless laborers, herdsmen and their respective leaders--we would find an example of limited "popular participation." When certain sectors of local society are excluded, a project may be highly advantageous to a few--rewarding elite groups--but harmful to many others.

Women suffer the same kind of unequal access to participation as do the "marginals" of society. Although there have been significant advances in thinking about their role and function, women's place is still peripheral to the development process. After all, the modernization theory of development, which explains the process in predominantly economic terms, has not yet been able to access the economic value of housework, family rearing and motherhood in general.

It is important, then, that local resident participation make a serious effort to include subgroupings such as the poorest and marginal people of society and also make a significant effort to engage women

in the process. Transformation of humankind's consciousness heavily depends upon its partiality to these groupings of society.

#### 1.2.5 The How of Participation

The final characteristic of participation concerns the "how" or the quality of participation. Knowing who is to do what activities gives a basic framework but it needs further classification: how is this participation to take place? Some basic qualities of how participation occurs are: the source of its initiative, incentives for participation, its organizational patterns, whether participation is direct, indirect or a combination of both, its duration (over long periods of time, periodic or a one-time deal), number and range of participatory activities and sense of empowerment participation brings.

Transformational development would give more weight to certain aspects of the "how" of participation than to others. An important component is effecting development activities (see section 1.2.1) is the need to establish some kind of organizational framework to make it all happen. Public discourse and action on major issues affecting local society logically lead to organizational efforts to bring communally-made decisions into practice.

A number of empirical studies point to the necessity of local organizational efforts. Uphoff and Esmans' monograph, "Local Organization for Rural Development," summarizes the findings and conclusions of eighteen case studies (mostly in Southeast Asia) clarifying the role of organizational efforts and local institutions in the rural development process. That study examined the relationship of local organization to agricultural productivity, income, local participation and

various dimensions of rural welfare: health, nutrition, education, etc. Along these dimensions a rather clear division appeared between the "more organized" and the "less organized" countries. In analyzing rural development performance, sharp and consistent differences were found between the two groups. The authors concluded:

From our case studies and analysis we find there is a strong empirical basis for concluding that local organization is a necessary if not sufficient condition for accelerated rural development, especially development which emphasizes improvement in the productivity and welfare of the majority of rural people. (Uphoff and Esman, 1974:1)

An earlier study, Edgar Owens' and Robert Shaw's *Development Reconsidered*, reported findings parallel to those of Uphoff and Esman. A distinction based on differing principles of organizing and involving people was used in analyzing why a small number of poor countries have been much more successful at alleviating poverty for its poorest citizens than other countries. Nations were analyzed for the ways in which their societies viewed the relationship between government and people. In dual societies, for instance, the relationship was found to be an extension of the ruler-ruled relationship which works directly with the great mass of the people with few intermediary institutions. In contrast, the modernizing society attempts to involve the people in becoming the architects of their own future. Such a society prefers to work with local institutions and village organizational efforts and relies on the leaders of these institutions to work with the people. For these authors, "True development involves stimulating the initiative of villagers . . . by organizing them in disciplined problem-solving institutions" (Owens and Shaw, 1972:23).

Eugene Meehan's In Partnership with People also studied the place of organization in rural development efforts, but in a Latin American and Caribbean context. The Inter-American Foundation (IAF), created by the United States Congress in 1969 to search for new aims and methods for providing development assistance, funded the research effort and the writing of the study. The Congress was reacting against the poor performance of its foreign assistance programs through the 1960s. The author examines some thirty-five projects in detail, and he uses the results of these case studies to illustrate the learning made possible by the overall development experience. His conclusion: Local organizations are one of the major keys to human improvement. In fact, the "bottom-up approach to foreign assistance suggests that the first step to be taken, analytically if not historically, is discovery of primary organizations among the populations to be assisted" (Meehan, 1974:76).

In his The Active Community: Towards a Political-Territorial Framework for Rural Development in Asia, John Friedmann stressed the necessity of empowering the rural masses which "must start with organizing for development" (1978:45). He argues convincingly for an agropolitan development whose main characteristic is a rural organizational pattern rising up from below, transforming the social and physical conditions of its existence. His insistence on the necessity of local institution building in successful rural development hinges on the idea of "linkage." Friedmann quotes approvingly from the Uphoff and Esman studies cited previously which accent the linkage between and among institutions, "horizontally . . . at the same level and especially vertically between local organizations and structures at the center of government" (Uphoff and Esman, 1974:xii). For these

authors such linkages are impossible without locally based organizations.

The African rural scene is similar to the Southeast Asian picture in its need for local organizations in the development of peoples. In Marcus Ingle's study, Organizational Determinants of Rural Equality, five African and six South American countries were studied for local organizations and their influence in successful rural development programs, among other things. His findings support the contention that "local organizations strongly influence conditions which contribute to rural development" (Ingle, 1978:24). He concludes that local organizational functions could be viewed as singularly providing appropriate access to (or opportunity for) rural development-related behavior (Ingle, 1978:24). Thus, local organizations, by influencing individuals and groups to productive rural behavior, have direct impact on the benefit distribution process (1978:25).

Although both conventional and transformational development theories advocate participation, only the transformational model absolutely requires that participation (in terms described here) permeates its methodology as well as the attitudes of its people. Transforming humankind's consciousness is not adequately accomplished simply by contact with or immersion in economic activities. An interior conversion cannot be forced from the outside. It is an interior action of persons fostered by a participatory mode favoring dialogue, people's experience, community and praxis and at the same time showing a pre-disposition to the poorest of society. Likewise the transformational mode fundamentally depends upon the use of local organizational efforts

and institutions as a potent way of eliciting and sustaining productive participation by people in their own development.

### 1.3 Personal Involvement

I feel it is necessary for the reader to know in some detail my personal involvement with the 'Are'are village people so as to better evaluate my research efforts. This deep, personal interaction with villagers over more than two decades has provided me with a profound experience. Many types of development took place during these years--not the least my own development as a person, change-agent and social scientist.

I have been intimately involved with the 'Are'are people of southern Malaita since 1958. My first contact with them came as missionary, a Catholic priest, then as school administrator, and now as kinsman of theirs (through marriage) serving in the capacity of social scientist.

When I first arrived in these islands in December 1958--then the British Solomon Islands Protectorate--I began my missionary ministry among the villagers of east 'Are'are. It was here that I began my involvement with social issues and with education. I pursued overseas food aid for the boarding school children. In the initial stages of my development work I saw the villagers as people who were little able to initiate and sustain a development thrust except with outside help. In such a situation I expected the people to supply the raw material of development--the data, the facts, the problem--which then could be transformed by outside resources, knowledge and especially, money. This stage of my consciousness, mercifully, was of short duration.



This people's obvious intelligence, work habits and determination in the face of severe obstacles made it obvious that any development worthy of the name would have to be based on a partnership arrangement, not a superior-inferior relationship.

In late 1960 Bishop Stuyvenberg, my ecclesiastical superior, appointed me pastor of the Rohinari Mission Station which served the West 'Are'are villagers. It was here during a ten year period--1960 to 1969--that I became most closely involved with village people. Projects of all kinds--agriculture (coconut plantations, village live-stock improvement), health (clinic construction), education (village school system) and inter-village transport--became an integral part of my pastoral ministry with the people. As was true on many occasions over the years, these development projects became a process affecting both parties: the village person and myself. There was a growth process for both me and the people with whom I was working. What had started out as a one-way street in which the better educated, more experienced and the more sophisticated would share his talents and gifts with those less fortunate became in the process a mutual aid society. Indeed I was better educated, more experienced and sophisticated than they in certain ways. But they too were educated, experienced and sophisticated in terms of their social sensitivity, family strengths, and practical self-reliance in food production, housing and recreation.

In the middle of 1969 I was appointed to the position of Catholic Schools and Director of Catholic Relief Services for these islands. Although these appointments required me to reside in the capital city, Honiara on the island of Guadalcanal, these same positions required frequent visits to all parts of the Protectorate. I was, therefore,

able to continue working with the 'Are'are people in their continuing efforts to improve the quality of their lives.

In August, 1974, I left the Solomon Islands with the hope of studying development theory and practice at a university closely in touch with Pacific Island affairs. My experience with the 'Are'are people over the years led me to study and be involved with the role of organization in the development of rural peoples. I entered the University of Hawaii in September 1975, with the intention of sometime in the near future returning to 'Are'are to once again work with many of the same villagers in the field of development.

In November 1975, I married an 'Are'are woman, Bernadine Uianipata, who has been a constant reminder while in Hawaii of my long-time goal of working the 'Are'are villagers in development. During Solomon Islands independence celebrations, July 7, 1978, we returned with our young son, Paul Damien, to visit relatives, friends and acquaintances in 'Are'are for more than three months.

This study, then, is but the most recent project in which we, the 'Are'are villagers and I, have teamed up together. It is a continuation of the lessons which we have taught each other over a twenty-five year period. Participation, daily contact, trust of one another and a commitment to each other have had a great deal of influence in the construction, planning, application and evaluation of this social intervention. The original field work for this study began in June 1980 and lasted until April 1981, but the work turned out to be as much a homecoming for a relative as a social scientist's study of people. After more than two decades of close, intimate and prolonged interaction with a people with whom I have become identified both as friend and

as relative, this social intervention in the form of doctoral research became more than a professional concern. It is and has been a labor of love and commitment.

#### 1.4 Study Outline

The study divides into three major sections. In the first section, Chapter II, there is a brief geographical description of the islands in general and Malaita and 'Are'are in particular, and a condensed historical account of Solomonese contact with European civilization. Chapter III reviews the development history of these islands, including the British government's attempts to engage a subsistence-culture people in the modern economic system. I pay particular attention to the 'Are'are people's self-development efforts immediately following World War II and during the last thirty-five years.

The second section of the study (Chapters IV, V, VI and VII) explains the participatory research pattern used during the village-level development workshops. Chapter IV features the training of the paraprofessionals who conducted the village development workshops. Chapter V reviews the carrying out of these workshops, and the next two chapters explain the participatory exercises used during the village workshops: the Development Wheel (Chapter VI) and the Village Quality of Life Index (Chapter VII).

The final section of the study has three chapters. Chapter VIII reports on the responses to and evaluation of the village development workshop program. Chapter IX describes a local development agency which uses many of the methods and processes begun by this study. The concluding chapter, Chapter X, presents an overview of the study and

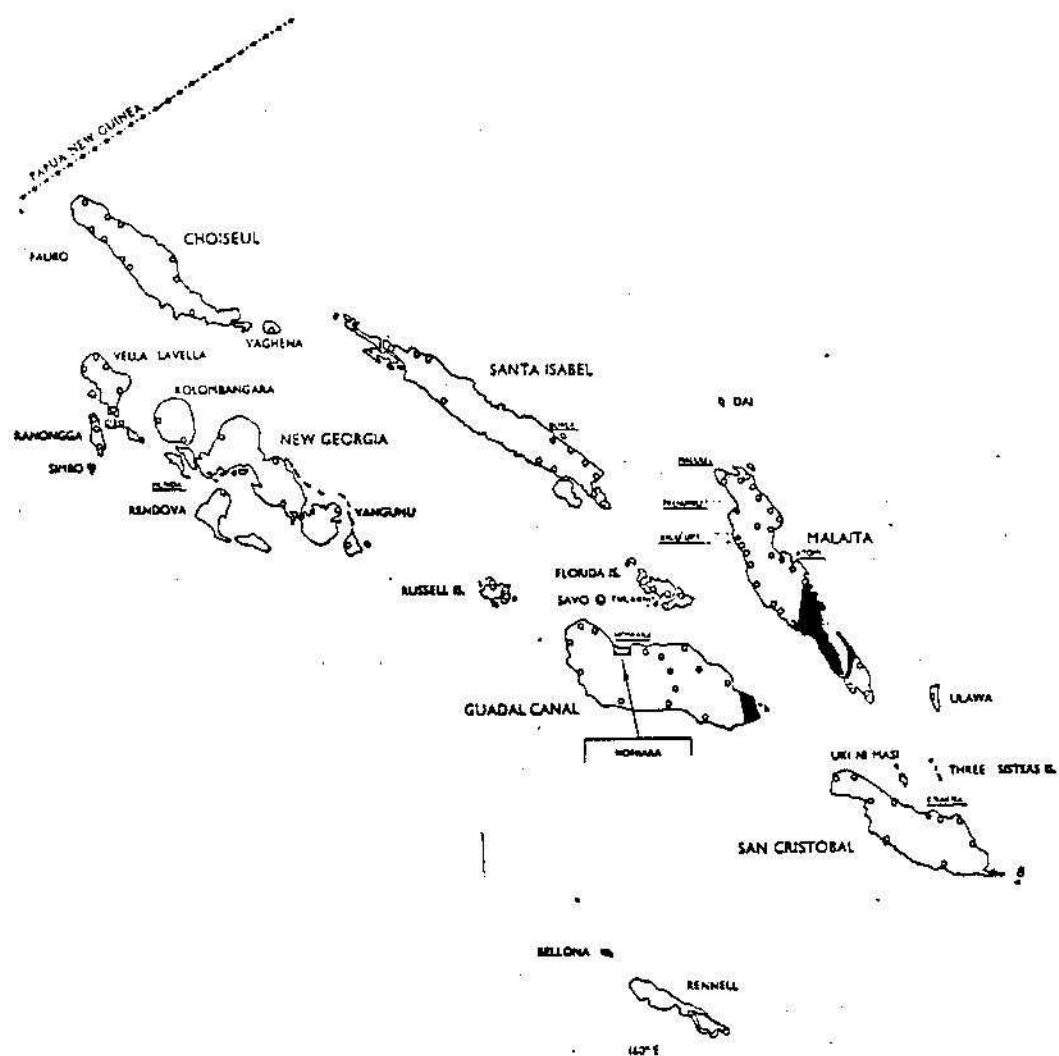
summarizes its findings. It also reviews the uses of the methodology by other development workers and its possible appropriateness to other areas of the world.

CHAPTER II  
SOLOMON ISLANDS PERSPECTIVE--  
NATIONAL AND LOCAL SETTING

2.1 Geographical Background

Solomon Islands, with the second largest land mass of Melanesia, consists of a scattered archipelago of large mountainous islands and low-lying coral atolls stretching approximately 1400 km. Six major islands--Choiseul, New Georgia, Santa Ysabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita and Makira, and the hundreds of smaller islands within the archipelago--cover an area of 803,000 km<sup>2</sup> of ocean. The largest islands are characterized by precipitous, thickly forested mountain ranges, intersected by deep narrow valleys. The land area is approximately 27,556 km<sup>2</sup>, the largest island being Guadalcanal (5,302 km<sup>2</sup>), followed by Malaita (4,243 km<sup>2</sup>). This island group forms a segment of the island chain which extends from Papua New Guinea to Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides) lying between 5° and 11° south of the equator, roughly paralleling the north-east coast of Australia, 2000 km to the southwest (see Figure 2).

Temperatures do not vary significantly either throughout the island group or during the year. Average minimum and maximum temperatures of 22°C and 31°C respectively are recorded, with a relatively high humidity of between 60 and 90 percent. Although the climate is equatorial, the surrounding ocean modifies it significantly. From March until November the Southeast Trade Winds blow almost continuously.



Shaded area = 'Are'are tribe

Figure 2. Map of Solomon Islands

Between November and April the winds, sometimes reaching cyclone force, come from the west or northwest. Rainfall is often heavy, especially near the high mountains of the interior and on the windward side of the main islands. Honiara, the capital, situated on the Guadalcanal Plains, has an annual rainfall of almost 2500 mm. Elsewhere the rainfall may be as high as 8,000 mm per annum but generally averages 3,000 to 3,500 mm (The South Sea Digest, 1982:1).

## 2.2 Historical, Cultural and Economic Features

Research, both archeological and linguistic, indicates the Solomon Islands have been occupied by humans for at least 6,000 years. The largest racial group, the Melanesians have occupied these islands the longest. The Polynesians, the second largest racial group appear to have originated in the eastern Polynesian islands.

In 1568, Alvaro de Mendana, a Spanish navigator, became the first European to sight the Solomon Islands. His voyage inspired rumors that these islands were indeed the source of King Solomon's legendary gold treasures. But it was not until the 1820s that Europeans began to make regular visits, when whalers started anchoring in some of the bays for repairing and provisioning their ships.

Late in the 1840s, visits became more frequent as traders came to search for sandalwood and turtle shell which was used as barter in the New Hebrides, the main source of sandalwood. Thus, trading trips to the Solomons rapidly increased during the middle years of the nineteenth century.

Sugar plantation development in both Queensland, Australia and Fiji in the 1860s brought a different kind of European trader to the

Solomons; they were searching for a new cargo--labor. At times their recruitment practices were brutal. Plantation owners were offering 10 to 12 pounds sterling per man supplied--a healthy profit for a shipmaster. Kidnapping, better known as "blackbirding," became rife. Melanesians retaliated in kind by attacking ships, killing crews and threatening the newly arrived Christian missionaries, many of whom were from England. To control the situation, Britain officially declared the islands to be the British Solomon Islands Protectorate in 1893. Thus, a Pax Britannica allowed foreign commercial interests, especially the coconut plantations, to expand and produce the first major agricultural export item, copra, from the islands (National Development Plan, 1980:1-4).

The Christian churches would in time prove to be a most potent influence in the formation of modern Solomonese society. However, at first missionaries were only vaguely recognized as bringing in a new social order. From the very beginning of their ministry in the islands, the Anglicans in 1865 and the Catholics in a second attempt in 1898 undermined the Melanesian social cosmology especially their belief in the spirit world. European missionaries, their catechists and followers seemed immune to the wrath of local deities and were unafraid of being attacked by them. Their pioneering efforts in education and medical work added to their stature in the eyes of villagers. The second wave of missionization, Methodists arriving in 1902, South Sea Evangelicals in 1904, and Seventh-Day Adventists in 1914, expanded upon the initial church works. All the churches increased their influence in two closely related ways: first the new sense of security allowed greater safety for village people to move from place to place, and second, the



traditional settlement pattern of small hamlets deep in the jungle was radically transformed to larger sea coast villages. Murray Bathgate makes the point that: "the predominantly interior patterns of settlement with a few littoral villages changed increasingly towards an almost entirely coastal one" (Bathgate, 1975:47). These changes came about, for the most part, by the Christian missions centering their hospitals, clinics, networks of communications and training centers along the sea coasts. Most of today's island leaders, in fact, were trained in Christian schools. European influence on Solomon Islanders have been on the ascendency since the middle of the nineteenth century. The plantation system, Christian mission influence, commercial enterprises and government administration were keenly felt by the people.

But this situation changed markedly in 1942 when Japanese troops invaded the islands. From August, 1942, when the United States forces invaded Guadalcanal until December, 1943, when the Japanese land force withdrew from the islands, parts of the Solomon Islands were almost constantly a scene of combat. In the period following the war, European dominance became less secure and the plantations, churches and government had not only to be almost completely re-built but, more importantly, each was to be tested in new ways and forced to pursue new goals. In the eyes of the local people, European influence was on the wane and a new order, in which Solomon Islanders would eventually command, was on the rise. I detail this attitudinal change in the following chapter.

The first intimation of this change came in the confrontation of the native movement, Maasina Rule, with government administration in 1949 (see Chapter III, section 3.3 for a more detailed account of this

period). Although the government authorities were successful in crushing the movement, it became clear that the pre-war political and economic structures would no longer be adequate to post-war Solomon Islanders' expectations. The first local government councils were set up in 1953 and by 1964, "local councils with considerable autonomy and responsibility for the management of local affairs covered the greater majority of the islands" (National Development Plan, 1980:2). The civil administration reestablished an Advisory Council for the whole of the islands. This chamber evolved into the Legislative and Executive Councils by 1960. These institutions were replaced by a single Governing Council in 1970.

By the early 1970s, a ministerial form of government was introduced and the first Chief Minister, Mr. Solomon Mamaloni, took office in August, 1977. Full internal self-government was achieved in early 1976, followed in two years by full independence, on July 7, 1978. By the fall of the year the Solomon Islands was admitted to the United Nations as the 150th member.

The current political institutions and practices of government follow the Westminster system. There is a constitutional monarchy (The Queen of England), a constitution which outlines the powers and responsibilities of the legislature, executive and judiciary and provides for provincial government and for citizenship.

The 1976 census puts the population figure at 196,863 and it is estimated that there is a 3.4 percent growth rate. This "rate is among the highest in the world and would lead to a doubling of the population within 20 years" (Hawkins, 1979:41). By the year 2000, then, it is

estimated that the population will grow to almost half a million people (Taylor, 1980:28).

Most of the population is distributed around the coasts of the various islands. The largest population resides in the province of Malaita (60,043) according to the 1976 census. Rapid population growth has resulted in a relatively young population--48 percent are under 15 years of age. The present age structure provides a built-in momentum for sustained high population growth for some time in the future. This population will affect school enrollment, the working-age labor pool and medical and other social services.

Solomon Islanders retain respect for their ancestors and adhere to the code of their clan or family line. More than 80 percent of the Solomonese people still live in traditional village patterns, with each family growing its own food, building its own house, and in general able to fend for itself in most areas of life.

Village life lies at the center of Solomonese existence. It is here that the child is born, reared and raised to adulthood. Normally the young adult marries but continues to live within the village. Even when young men do go off to work on a plantation or in the capital city, Honiara, frequent trips are made back to the village. In the twilight of life, once again the village becomes the place to retire to. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of village life to the economic, social, cultural and political life of the nation. The value of villager work is estimated to be \$76 million, more than 31 percent of the Gross National Product and \$14 million more than the salaries of the paid employment sector (Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 1985: 7). Villagers contribute to the social and cultural fabric through

their self-reliant culture. Only the two Honiara parliamentarians represent the urban area. The 36 other members are selected from the 5000 villages and hamlets of the Solomon Islands. The Solomons economy, however, is in the process of changing from a strong subsistence society to a cash culture. Yet, subsistence production still dominates: "nine out of ten households are engaged in subsistence food production to some extent" (Hawkins, 1979:20). Hence, a key part of the national income comprises those goods and services which are produced and used without any cash payment. A large proportion of rural households, two-thirds of them, earn cash from crop production, usually from coconut growing.

Virtually all rural households are able to meet basic requirements for food and for house making from their subsistence activities. Urban dwellers, on the other hand, depend upon employment for cash for buying practically all of the necessities of life. Although cash income per head in towns was many times rural cash incomes per head in 1978, the urban dweller was not that many times better off than the rural dweller (National Development Plan, 1979: Ch. 3).

Solomon Islands is still a predominantly agricultural country. Agriculture, which includes forestry, livestock, and fisheries, accounts for 70 percent of the Gross Domestic Product, some 30 percent of formal employment and almost all its exports. But the opportunities for earning cash income are very uneven. One in four households in Malaita, for instance, reported having no cash income in 1976 (UN Fund for Population Activities, 1979:11). The 1976 census reported that only 21 percent of the persons between 15 and 54 years were working for a wage or salary while a further 7 percent were self-employed, mostly as copra

farmers or market gardeners. The lack of opportunity in rural areas for families to earn income to supplement their subsistence production is seen to be an overriding economic and political problem facing the country at this time.

The economy of the Solomons is estimated to be growing at an annual rate of 6.6 percent. Most of this growth is in monetary incomes, and this sector of the economy is largely dependent on world prices for copra, tuna, timber and palm oil. Many incomes are heavily concentrated in the hands of wage and salary earners and businesses. Hence the problem centers on the very limited opportunity of rural dwellers for earning any cash income (National Development Plan, 1979: Ch. 3).

There is no vernacular common to the country. At least 70 different languages are spoken on the various islands. The official language is English, but Pijin English is the most effective lingua franca.

### 2.3 Malaita

Malaita is a mountainous and densely wooded island, 185 km. long and up to 40 km. wide at its widest part (see Figure 3). Its woods go to the ocean's edge, and around most of the coastline, much of it is mangroves. A narrow-width sea channel at the southeastern end separates "Big" Malaita from a smaller island called Maramasike. All approaches are from the west, usually by small ship, though a few travellers do fly in by plane from Guadalcanal. The main port of entry is at Auki, on the northwest coast, which has been the administrative headquarters since 1909. This fact has determined the distinctive pattern of economic and social development of the island. The Auki area has realized relatively significant growth, while little



Shaded area = 'Are'are tribe

Figure 3. Map of Malaita

development, in terms of modernization, has occurred in the remote sections of the island. Road development, the marketing center, agricultural growth and business interests are clustered in and around this provincial capital and along the road system stretching mainly to the north and only recently going to the south. The southern parts of the island have experienced relatively little economic development.

The people of the northern part of the island have been fairly well studied by social scientists--To'o-baita (Hogbin, 1939), Fataleka (Russell, 1950; Guidieri, 1972), Lau (Maranda and Maranda, 1970), Kwaio (Keesing, 1970, 1976), and Baegu (Ross, 1973). The people of north central Malaita, especially the bush people (villagers living in the mountain fastness away from the sea coast) have a life pattern based on small shifting settlements clustered in territories around shrines which contain the bones of their ancestors. Proximity to one's shrines serve two major functions, "propitiation of ancestors . . . which confer mana in support of human action" (Keesing, 1979:346) and help to insure one's land ownership. Ancestors, both the recent dead and the remote and distant spirits, are worshipped. Their presence fills the present dimension of life, "like the wind" and they are considered part of everyday living: a help in gardening, directing the canoe maker, protecting the feast giver and guarding one's pigs from sickness and accident. Different types of magic are bestowed by particular ancestors--house building, tool making, healing and most other important areas of life. Since an aggrieved ancestor is believed to be the source of sickness and death, propitiation of the spirits plays an important part of everyday life for Malaitans. Closely related groups possess a

web of ritual procedures and "supernatural" conferred powers which are strengthening-structures, helping in understanding and explaining their personal universe.

Because of the extreme fragmentation of society--as witnessed by the many languages of the island, its difficult terrain and mutual tribal hostilities--leadership has shifted frequently. A leader emerged and continued to be a leader so long as successful. His potent magic related to health and agriculture; wealth to bind people to himself; persuasion enough to sway people to his point of view, but this type of "Big Man," the entrepreneurial feastgiver and peacekeeper, was opposed by another force in the land, the blood feuding leader, the ramo. His position in society allowed him to carry out culturally legitimate homicide in order to propitiate an aggrieved ancestor who was thought to be responsible for the latest round of sickness or death (Keesing, 1978:246).

Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, European colonialism impacted on the Malaita people by introducing the plantation system, Christianization, the cash economy and government administration. Each in its own way began a fundamental transformation which radically affected traditional structures, political norms and behavior.

#### 2.4 The 'Are'are of Ma-aita

We, the real men, we descended from the savage whom we have replaced on this earth and it is we who have contributed the common task of knowledge. (de Coppet and Zemp, 1978:1)



They are called 'Are'are, which means "men as a society" of which there are a little more than 12,000. They inhabit the southernmost part of Big Malaita, the northern section of Malamasike and a few villages off the southern tip of Guadalcanal. Though they make up 16 to 17 percent of the Malaita population, proportionately the land area they occupy is much greater (see Figure 3). Detailed linguistic analysis is not available but it is certain that the 'Are'are constitute one of the major language groups of Malaita.

The southern section of Malaita with its 22 km lagoon and Maramasike waterway separating the two parts of Malaita, offers fine, safe harbors to the occasional cutter boats which ply the coastal waters. It is by boat that one reaches or skirts the 'Are'are country, but it is on foot that one penetrates it, following the open bush paths. Near the shore are the permanent villages, built during the early part of the century (for the recent Christian converts) especially at the time of Maasina Rule. Walking tracks, and canoe travel will remain the only form of access to these people until the road building program from Auki, the provincial capital 60 km to the north, reaches 'Are'are in the early 1990s.

For this study, fieldwork was conducted amongst villagers known as the West 'Are'are lagoon people. They have not been the subject of any detailed anthropological or sociological study except by Daniel de Coppet in 1963-1964 (de Coppet and Zemp, 1964).

The 'Are'are are unanimous in saying that their land had a much denser population two or three generations ago. The known reasons for the depopulation of this area are the waves of epidemics, firearms,

and the labor trade. Each of these elements was intimately connected with European ships and crews which traded in the area. This situation has been corrected, and the issue of severe underpopulation is no longer a problem.

The 'Are'are today produce a number of crops which were previously unknown to them--copra, cocoa and cattle raising. Only five generations ago taro constituted 60 percent of the diet; today it is less than 30 percent with sweet potato taking up the slack. This change, of course, represents a considerable change in diet, more than likely a decrease in protein consumption. Although coconut has been a part of the 'Are'are diet for centuries, it is only in recent times that copra has been made.

The mobility of the 'Are'are has considerably increased over the years due to the cessation of murders in the 1920s and 1930s when the government police force broke the power of the ramo. It is now possible to cultivate far distant gardens, to have pigs at a faraway place, and to change one's principal residence more often. As a result, the land rights exercised by individuals cover more numerous and more dispersed areas.

The permanent establishment of Christian villagers along the coast since 1910 has led to the abandonment of many mountain lands and the cessation of some traditional forms of exchange. Today in the coastal villages one can distinguish two classes of inhabitants: those who have traditional rights over lands near the village, and who exercise their power over other inhabitants by allowing them to garden the land and to plant cash crops--such as cocoa, coconuts; others whose land holdings are at a great distance from the village, and who become

dependent upon the goodwill of the local landowners. These "landless" people seek opportunities to plant gardens, raise cash crops, and rear pigs on the property of the landowners.

In the past 'Are'are society constantly fluctuated between the peacefulness protected by the "Big Man" called the araha in 'Are'are and devastation created by the ramo (culturally accepted agent of retribution). Unfortunately, as de Coppet states, "The ramo existed everywhere, but the araha were not at each community to hold the ramo in check" (1964:8). However, the government constabulary successfully broke the blood feuding by hanging many of the ramos. The Pax Britannica of the 1920s and 1930s pacified the 'Are'are interior, "and the breaking of the power of the ramo opened the way to regional unity" (Keesing, 1978:251).

The 'Are'are people have had a tradition of assuming control of their own affairs. It was they who began Maasina Rule in which they scrupulously indexed the genealogies and territories of each person to solidify land claims and with this new political organization sought to fill any vacuum which would have been left had government departed. Later on they organized a transportation system to get their goods to the capital, and also organized village-level development planning conferences (see Chapter III, section 3.4). This strong political and social consciousness came, at least in part, from the fact that at the outset they had quite a clear idea of their own value as a people.

## CHAPTER III

### SOLOMON ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT BACKGROUND

#### 3.1 Introduction

The present-day Solomon Islands villager is the product of an evolving, inconsistent development process begun in the middle of the last century. The past is so integrally part of the present that, if explanation of modern features of 'Are'are development history is to be complete, then a reconstruction of the forces to which they have been subject is needed.

The first section of this chapter reviews the early colonial forces which affected the village person. The following section, on the immediate postwar years, focuses on the decolonialization process and Maasina Rule. The third section details the results of development interpreted as modernization. Section four reviews the villager's perception of what development should mean and various attempts at creating village-based development schemes. The fifth section reviews 'Are'are villagers' attempts at development over the past twenty-five years.

#### 3.2 Colonial Forces

To understand modern development and what it means in practice, we need to look briefly at four facets of early Solomon Islands history: plantation development, missionization, cash economy and the colonial administration.

#### a. Plantation Development

The first major influence of colonial forces on villagers came in the form of plantation work. Serious and prolonged European impact in the Solomon Islands began in 1870 when young men left the islands to sign up as indentured plantation workers. In the first few years of the labor trade they worked on the sugarcane fields of Queensland and Fiji, but later they also worked on copra plantations in the Solomons. The majority of these workers, up to 80 percent of the total, came from Malaita. Having seen for themselves the world of the white man, the vast majority returned to their villages and their own way of life. Though they brought back with them new technologies such as rifles, trade goods (tinned food, twist tobacco, cloth), steel goods (house and gardening tools) and experiences (undreamt of wealth, strange customs, unusual places), they remained convinced of the merits of their own way of life. In fact Malaita men were recognized (and still are) by most whites as proud--"they did not regard Europeans as superior"--and dangerous--"recruiting ships were attacked and looted, missionaries and recruiters killed." In fact it was not until the late 1920s that Malaita was pacified. The labor trade and plantation experience became the villager's first experience of what development might be, but he had no compelling desire to follow its ways (Keesing, 1978:248).

#### b. Missionization

At the same time as the young laborers were in contact with Christianity on the plantations, different Christian religious groups were actively engaged in bringing Christ's message to village people. From the very beginning the missionaries' disregard for traditional

tabus and magic had great effects upon the people. Four local Catholic youths and Father Pellion were

not a bit afraid to run risks in order to change the ideas of their countrymen and attacked the local divinities and strove to drive them away; they cut off the leaves of a sacred palm tree and decked their chapel with the spoils. They plucked flowers which no one dared touch under pain of death. They ate certain oysters, which were 'tabu' forbidden to all mortals. All this produced great excitement in the region and even provoked the fury of some . . . But minds gradually grew more calm when it was evident that the boys were not a whit the worse for their daring. Doubt began to shake settled convictions; could it possibly be true that their divinities had no power over the followers of the new religion? (Raucaz, 1929:150)

The settlement pattern of villages was radically transformed. The Christian churchmen found it difficult to evangelize people in hamlets which comprised no more than a few households, often miles apart. They called down the bush people to the "salt water" to congregate in already established villages close to the sea. As Bathgate remarks, "The predominantly interior pattern of settlement with few littoral villages changed increasingly towards an almost entirely coastal one" (Bathgate, 1975:47).

The Christian message with its emphasis on concern for others rather than pay back revenge, sin rather than blaming aggrieved ancestors, and personal responsibility before clan loyalties, represented a stream of influence counter to many of the ways of old. Some people welcomed the new life for they recognized the poverty and wildness of the old ways, others were more taken by the freedom of Christians, and still others saw it as a way to get the whiteman's wealth.

So long as the villager remained in his hamlet away from frequent and prolonged contact with the European, his life-style continued much as it was in the past. The movement to the coast brought increasing numbers of villagers in contact with the cash economy, however. It was, in fact, around the permanent mission stations that cash crop planting was to take place (Bathgate, 1975:51).

### c. Cash Economy

In the early years of the twentieth century, a number of economic and political patterns were beginning to set the tone of Solomon Islands development. Expatriate plantations were rapidly expanding, some Chinese who had entered the protectorate were going into small business ventures, and in the economic process Solomon Islanders were assuming the role of laborers or minor cash crop producers.

The British government faced the difficult task of bringing some measure of economic progress to these islands so as to secure revenue to support administrative work. The government authorities believed the answer lay in the establishment of plantations. The year 1905 saw the commercial opening up of the Solomons. Lever's Pacific Plantations Ltd. and soon after Burns, Philp and Co. took up land on a large scale and began plantation operations on Yandina and Guadalcanal (Tudor, 1968: 434). To insure sufficient labor for the plantation as well as to secure local revenue, government imposed an annual head tax on all Solomon Islander males between the ages of sixteen and sixty (Bathgate, 1975:68). For all practical purposes such tax money could only be secured by working on plantations. With every man committed to paying the tax, the earning of money at last became pervasive.

The years between 1921-1942 were ones of moderate economic growth. Expatriate-owned plantations produced the bulk of all copra with the village sector providing less than 15 percent of the total in any one year (Bathgate, 1975:70). Over the years, villagers' taste for imported goods became an important part of the internal economy (see Table 2) as well as a major source for central government's revenue (see Table 3). The pattern of Solomon Islanders villagers entering the cash economy as laborers for the plantations and consumers of imported goods began to crystallize. Had not the Great Depression intervened the process would certainly have significantly strengthened over the 1930s.

#### d. Colonial Administration

One of the most influential forces molding villagers' thinking was British government administration. The police arm of government forcibly broke the cycle of blood-feuding among different language groups and between villages. The Pax Britannica imposed a new social order whereby the traditional strongman no longer ruled through fear, and it opened up the possibility of general mobility and regional unity.

However, the major impact lay in government's ability to determine what was and what was not development. In the early days of the protectorate, government determined that the economic activity of large expatriate corporations using native laborers constituted economic development. The understanding was that intimate and prolonged contact with these engines of economic growth would increase local people's income and produce progress. In the years of the Great Depression when the Solomon Islands plantation system and commercial enterprises were practically destroyed because of the low price received for copra,



Table 2  
Value of Main Imports into BSIP for Selected Years  
in the 1920s and 1930s  
(pounds sterling)

	1922 - 1923	1931 - 1932	1937 - 1938
Total Value	£188,771	£157,491	£232,691
Rice	20,366	12,457	20,103
Tobacco	17,707	10,841	7,925
Clothing	15,861	10,263	8,108
Biscuits	10,481	7,722	6,747
Meats	9,588	7,641	10,493
Benzine	9,959	2,891	3,893
Bags, sacks	6,881	10,921	10,024
Timber	6,499	n.a.	n.a.
Machinery	5,702	4,493	20,460
Hardware	5,141	3,453	5,810
Kerosene	3,292	2,480	2,878
Beer	2,581	n.a.	n.a.
Spirits	2,450	n.a.	n.a.
Sugar	2,216	n.a.	n.a.
Fish	2,133	n.a.	n.a.
Wine	626	1,838	2,426
Sub total	121,433	75,000	98,872
Miscellaneous	67,288	82,491	134,019

Source: Annual (Colonial) Reports for the BSIP: 1922-23;  
1931-32 and 1937-38.

Table 3  
Sources of Central Government Revenue  
in the 1920s and 1930s

(pounds sterling)

	1922-23	1931-32	1937-38
Total Revenue	45,741	56,744	82,809
Export duties	13,019	7,653	11,630
Copra	11,893	6,128	11,016
Other	1,126	1,525	614
Import duties	25,533	24,277	32,986
Tobacco	11,750	10,828	11,090
Other	13,783	13,449	21,896
Licenses and internal revenue	11,083	13,553	10,038
Native Tax	7,516	9,550	6,694
Other	7,106	11,261	28,155

Source: Blue Books of the BSIP: 1922-23; 1931-32; 1937-38.

government shifted its development gaze to the village sector (Tudor, 1968:438). Cash crops other than copra, such as kapok (a wool-like product of the kapok tree) and rice, were introduced in the village sector at this period.

From the beginning of European contact with Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, then, there existed two major forces determining what development of a people should consist in. The one, completely expatriate and growing in strength, though not always consistent, determined that:

The nature of social and political arrangements create several biases towards a continuous state of under-development. . . . the rigid pattern of social stratification restricts mobility; the concentration of social, economic and political power prevents the emergence of a highly motivated population, and racial discrimination inhibits the fullest use of society's human resources. (Beckford, 1972:83)

Although these words were spoken for the Caribbean Island area, they are applicable to the Solomon Islands as well.

The second important force molding the Solomon Islander was home-grown. It consisted of the villager's reaction and response to the imposed development model imported from overseas. These island people felt that development meant remaining truly Melanesian even while selecting items of expatriate life-style, and possessing political, economic and cultural power to carry out such a program. This recessive development gene made its strongest appearance during the latter years of World War II.

### 3.3 Post-War Years--A New Beginning

The Japanese conquest of the Asia-Pacific lands in 1941 wrecked forever the European colonial regimes, and the colonial system in the

Solomon Islands proved no exception. The break-up consisted of two parts: a slow decolonialization process which primarily affected the governmental administration, and a powerful Melanesian movement called Maasina Rule, which sought to reinvest Solomon Islanders with responsibility for their own affairs (Laracy, 1971:96).

a. Decolonization Period

Scarcely recognized as such either by government officials or the Solomonese themselves, the immediate post-war years saw the beginning of the slow and painful process of returning the islands to their rightful owners. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the expatriate government still sought to impose control and maintain order as before. It felt that the expatriate plantation sector would continue to be the backbone of the national economy, but that there would have to be an increased involvement of the Solomon Islander in the economy. As an official agricultural and administrative report stated:

. . . future development should be oriented as far as possible towards production by natives themselves, rather than production by natives working for wages in commerce or Government undertakings. (Western High Commission, 1945:1)

Such a statement underscored the official attitude towards development. They viewed the issue not in terms of a new society achieved through communal, political and economic reorganization of the people but simply a continuation of the old system with but a shift in emphasis. The system continued a development pattern which aligned the economic role of people as before: administration officers occupied the top rung of the economic ladder; the second rung to the expatriate planters, the third to the Chinese entrepreneurs while Solomon Islanders--laborers,

cash crop producers and buyers of most store goods--occupied the bottom rung (Bathgate, 1975:94). Tippet puts it succinctly: "officialdom wanted to restore prosperity on the old pattern and would have succeeded had not Marching Rule wanted to right the wrongs of the old pattern" (1967:370).

b. Maasina Rule 1943-1952

The war was traumatic for the island people. It proved to be a watershed in relations between Europeans and Solomon Islanders. Many Melanesians, especially those of Malaita, enrolled in the labor crops. These native workers unloaded the American ships, built roads, bridges and other infrastructure; and a few engaged in fighting, helping American troops force the Japanese out of the islands. During this period, then, the Melanesians experienced massive war, air and sea battle, hand-to-hand combat, and the tremendous American organizational power. Once the Japanese had left, the Americans left as well, leaving the islanders to a discredited British administration. The British administrative officers had fled in the face of the threatened Japanese occupation of the islands, and now they wished to turn the clock back to pre-war days. In the eyes of the local people, however, European influence was clearly on the wane and a new order, in which Solomon Islanders would eventually command, was on the rise.

The war, then, became the critical occasion for the islanders to question basic assumptions of their relationships with the dominant power. The people experienced a great upheaval which awakened a sense of political responsibility and a desire to organize their own lives.

Out of this experience arose Maasina Rule--a movement launched in 1943 by two young 'Are'are men, Nori and Aliko Nono'ohimae.

This movement (mistakenly labeled "Marching Rule" by the British authorities) took its name from the 'Are'are word maasina which meant brotherhood but to an English speaker sounded much like Marching, or worse yet, Marxist. It was a movement which preached the right of self-determination and organized efforts to accomplish this goal. It sought a future which would restore traditional values and institutions which had been undermined by colonialism.

Maasina Rule stressed linkages not only among Christian religions but included the ancestor worshipers from all parts of the Solomons as well. An organization was set up with a program combining refusal to work on expatriate plantations with work on local projects so as to ensure economic and political independence. The British were asked for their technical and financial cooperation, and when this was not forthcoming, they were invited to leave the islands. Government's opposition to the movement became pronounced; and finally in 1947 when Maasina Rule had spread throughout Malaita and extended its influence to the neighboring islands, the Maasina Rule leaders were put into prison. They were initially charged with "effecting a public mischief." Eventually, however, the charge was changed and they were convicted for violation of the Unlawful Societies Act of 1790 and the Seditious Meeting Act of 1817 for which they were sentenced to six years of hard labor (Keesing, 1978:52).

In 1950 these leaders were released from prison and sent home with the understanding they would follow government's development demands.

In turn the administration recognized some of the movement's socio-political demands: it set up the first local council and founded a native court system; and, it established a secondary school in Auki, Malaita, the first of its kind in the islands. Although some of the aims of Maasina Rule were accomplished, colonial paternalism subverted the twin objectives of economic development for the island people and autonomy.

In both the pre- and post-war years, expatriate political, economic and cultural domination established a foreign development ethos which subverted Solomonese attempts at fulfilling alternate visions of life. Maasina Rule, though the most influential of the native movements, was but one of a series of native attempts to articulate a Melanesian life-view. This life-view is the gist of the message Aliko Nono'himae wrote to the British authorities in 1973:

We were once endowed with political power and money and laws, we knew how to feed ourselves and to work as a community. We created all that and maintained it. It was our way of life. . . . This was the main reason we founded the political movement of Brotherhood (Maasina Rule). With it, we wanted to bring back and set up our institutions. . . . We are determined to restore the conditions of political order of our own, conform in this case to our past as well as our Brotherhood movement. (De Coppet, 1977:108)

### 3.4 Neo-Colonial Era

The neo-colonial period extends from the years after Maasina Rule days (1952) to the present. During these years government inaugurated a number of national development plans which stressed the need for modernization as the key to development. In this subsection I examine

the effects on the Solomon Islands of development conceived in terms of modernization.

#### 3.4.1 Modernization as Development

A major goal of development in terms of modernization in the Solomons as well as other developing nations during the 1950s and 1960s was one which worked to transform the whole of society, its economy especially, from a traditional mode to a modern one. The development wisdom of the day decreed that by significantly increasing the national income (or as long as it grew faster than the population growth) a nation would sooner or later solve its social, economic and political problems.

Implementation of this development mode was recognized as the special right of the national government. Hence, the national government initiated development, usually through new technologies passed on by government extension workers. People, in this scheme of things, were seen more as means to development rather than the purpose of the development process. It was felt that significant physical changes in infrastructure would strengthen the process of changing the subsistence culture to one more in tune with the modern sector.

After the war it became clear that in the Solomons overemphasis upon the plantation system as a means towards development technique was not working. Villagers would become part of the development scheme, and cash crops other than coconut would fuel the new development thrust. Hence, in the late 1950s and early 1960s cocoa and rice were considered the ideal cash crops to engage the rural populace in the new development of the country. However, both schemes were failures. By 1967 "the



senior expatriate officials of Government, in the light of the relatively slow growth of export cash crop production in the village sector, began looking at expatriate enterprises and foreign investment to increase overseas earnings as well as further the diversification of the export base to provide revenue by way of duties for infrastructure development (Bathgate, 1975:137).

These islands had come full circle in development philosophy. In the early stages only expatriate enterprises constituted development, but war and changing political attitudes worldwide altered such thinking. After a sincere but ill-designed scheme for a more locally-based development (engaging the village sector in cash crops like cocoa and rice) failed, there was a return to the expatriate development model. But this model now featured modernization as the engine of change.

What, then, have been the results of modernization on the Solomon Islands people? How have the people changed since the early 1960s when the drive for modernization became more and more the operative mode of development? The answer to these questions is both positive and negative.

Certainly the Solomonese have benefited impressively from government's development efforts conceived in terms of modernization--a process whereby the basic patterns of living are qualitatively changed towards a Western direction. The import/export figures of the years between 1960-1979, for instance, indicate prodigious growth of the national economy. In 1960 there was less than \$3 million dollars per annum in both the import and export columns; in the 1979 Solomonese economy the import and export figures show more than \$50 million dollars

in trade (Tudor, 1968:445; National Development Plan, 1980:181). Local employment opportunities, government revenues and expenditures and private saving also jumped dramatically during this twenty year period.

The tax revenues generated by all this commercial activity enabled government social services to reach out to all levels of the Solomonese community. Government's greatest development impact, without a doubt, was in the field of medical services. Malaria, although still prevalent, was considerably lessened by an anti-malaria campaign undertaken in conjunction with the World Health Organization. The increased availability of hospitals, rural clinics, doctors, nurses and other medical personnel have considerably reduced the severity of such endemic diseases as yaws, leprosy, tuberculosis and hookworm. In the early 1960s a major problem was insufficient qualified staff for the central hospital in the capital city. Now, "the main priority of the health policy is to improve coverage and quality of basic health services in the rural areas" (World Bank, 1979:39).

A second social service, education, has traditionally been the concern of the Christian churches with government helping out financially. However, since 1974 the national government took over the responsibility for primary education. In 1968, government's educational budget came to less than half million dollars while the 1978 budget called for government expenditures of over \$2.5 million dollars yearly on the school system.

From these impressive figures and facts it becomes obvious that the Solomon Islands' people have been positively affected by the working out of government's development strategy. At the same time, however, there is another side to the local development story. A brief study

of the Development Plan 1975-1979 and its everyday application to island life throws a great deal of light on the other aspects of development conceived in terms of modernization.

A nation's development plan is thought to embody the best and most up-to-date thinking concerning a country's development. It is the official document of development practice which establishes the goals, processes, and indicators of the country's organic growth. In analyzing a nation's place in the sun, it becomes the one indispensable source of understanding of what is happening in a country's struggle for social, cultural, economic and political well being. A national development plan searches out the past for understanding, clarifies present-day needs and boldly launches the nation out to meet the future. In a word, the national plan can be seen as an exercise of human ingenuity at its best.

But the document can also be viewed in a less flattering light. The plan is not simply a technical document outlining abstract planning principles and techniques; it is a radically value-laden text. The state has a fundamental stake in the outcome of the development process and therefore it has a significant interest in fostering its perceived interests. Hence, the national development plan can be viewed as the major document whereby the state asserts its role "in determining access to resources and, therefore, private profitability (Weeks, 1973:76).

Where does the Solomon Islands National Development Plan 1975-1979 fall? Is the plan one in which the state sets out the best possible path for the majority of the people, or is it acting to protect and advance particular class interests? Should the Solomon Islands government be viewed simply as an interested bystander advancing certain

technically defined development goals, or as one which fundamentally seeks to protect the existing economic and political order?

There are three volumes to the plan:

Vol. 1 Starting Points

The economic and social conditions of the Solomon Islands in the light of the government objectives for 1975-1979.

Vol. 2 Building the Nation

The objectives and policies of the Solomon Islands government.

Vol. 3 Diagrams, Pictures and Maps

The plan's objectives and principles can only be praised. It is in the implementation given under the target dates that discrepancies between good intentions and questionable practice begin to appear. For instance, self-reliance and local participation are two of the eight principles guiding government action. Food production is listed as the first element of self-reliance, and yet in the agriculture plan there is nothing on how to improve local foodstuffs save market techniques. The plan implicitly suggests that the major factor inhibiting villagers' failure to supply greater amounts of food crops for both Honiara and the rural area are market forces. It fails to address other aspects of the problem: poor transportation facilities, lack of knowledge concerning the care of new vegetable crops and social constraints.

Another principle, the leveling up or the equal distribution of development projects, becomes something else again when translated into

concrete terms. There is an assumption in the plan that attention paid to agriculture, livestock and forestry work somehow equates with helping the rural sector. Although all these activities occur in the rural areas of the islands, they do not necessarily lead to a better way of life for the villager. Indeed, some of these plans run directly against the health and welfare of the very people they are supposedly intended to help. For instance, coastal lands which are normally used to plant food gardens for the present population must now compete with cattle grazing thereby making future population growth a more formidable problem than it is at present.

The very first objective stated in the plan is:

. . . to achieve self government and independence on sound political and economic foundations, so that, nationhood can be genuine and stable. (National Development Plan, 1975:2:2)

This laudable intention should be studied closely in the light of the plan's modernization consequences. What are some of these consequences?

a. Concentration of population and "modern" activity

A key question for any development plan is the distribution of the economic infrastructure between urban and rural area, and between different rural areas (Friedmann, 1975:9). Unfortunately planners typically reside in cities. They therefore tend to see a country's development through the prism of city life. But the fact is that in the Solomons what passes for modern development is highly concentrated in one urban center, Honiara, while the rest of the country is relatively isolated from the social and economic changes that so preoccupy centralized planners.

The only city of the Solomons, Honiara, accounts for the total urban population of the country, since Honiara alone is classified as urban. There has been a pronounced tendency for this one town to grow more rapidly than any other area--4.9 percent per year compared to the 3.4 percent for the nation at large (Table 4). The degree of urban primacy has increased over the past years. By 1976 this one city was nine times the size of the next three largest townships taken together (Table 5).

The response of government to this concentration has been to increase expenditures in the one urban area. Bathgate remarks:

In the plan (Sixth Development Plan 1971-1973) Honiara received approximately 17% of the expenditure, although only 6% of the Melanesian and Polynesian population resides there. \$306.05 per capita was spent in Honiara and only \$121.76 per capita in the rural areas including the smallest centres. (1975:903)

This same pattern repeats itself in the present plan. In a government review of the plan in 1978 it was stated that "Honiara . . . has a heavy concentration of jobs, government services, industry and modern amenities" (Review, 1978:2).

#### b. Hyperurbanization

Although we are speaking of relatively small numbers in the case of Honiara, a case can still be made that it has an over-concentration of people. The rate of settlement in this town makes integration into the social order practically impossible, except on a basis of inequality and exploitation. The resulting "crisis of inclusion" forces government to adopt policies that either undermine the government's basic premises of "decentralization, distribution and decolonization" by shifting resources to pacify social demands or lead to political difficulties.

Table 4

Central Planning Office  
Census of Population--8 February 1976<sup>a</sup>

Council Area	Males	Females	1976 Total	1970 Census	Annual Growth Rate
WESTERN DISTRICT	21,414	18,915	40,329	32,231	3.8
Ysabel	5,282	5,138	10,420	8,653	3.1
Central Islands	7,330	6,246	13,576	10,922	3.7
Guadalcanal	16,889	14,788	31,677	23,996	4.7
Honiara	8,905	6,037	14,948	11,191	4.9
CENTRAL DISTRICT	38,406	32,209	70,515	54,762	4.3
MALAITA	29,679	30,364	60,043	51,722	2.5
Ulawu	945	912	1,857	1,469	4.0
Makira	6,847	6,187	13,034	10,921	3.0
Eastern Islands	5,517	5,428	10,945	9,078	3.2
EASTERN DISTRICT	13,309	12,527	25,836	21,468	3.1
SHIPS	-	-	-	815	-
TOTAL POPULATION	102,808	94,015	196,823	160,998	3.4

<sup>a</sup>Preliminary figures, March 1977

Source: A Review of the Solomon Islands National Development Plan (1975 to 1979). Honiara Central Planning Office, 1978, Table 11.1.

Table 5  
Urban Population and Urban Growth Solomon Islands  
One Town and Three Townships 1970-76

Town/Townships	1970	1976	Annual Growth Rate (%)
Honiara	11,191	14,943	4.9%
Gizo Township	1,500	1,586	.9%
Auki Township	866	709	-2.6%
Kirakira Township	430	561	4.5%

Source: Population Census, Feb. 1976, Census Office, Statistic Division, Ministry of Finance, Honiara, April, 1976.

John Friedmann (1975:7) suggests a doubling period for urban population growth of less than twenty years as more or less arbitrary standard for identifying the existence of hyperurbanization. In 1968 Honiara had a population of over 7,000--an increase of 2,500 in about six years (Tudor, 1968:435). By the 1976 census figures (Table 5) Honiara had more than tripled in size since the early 1960s, certainly qualifying it as a city with a severe case of hyperurbanization.

#### c. Employment and Unemployment

One way to insure a measure of peacefulness in the town area is to create urban job opportunities. Honiara's population constitutes less than 8 percent of the total; yet, 36 percent of the wage employment opportunities are concentrated in this one urban area (Table 6), and the trend in the years to come seems to be growing rather than diminishing concentration (Table 6).



Table 6  
Employment by Council Area 1974-1979

Council Areas	Census		1979	% of Workers by Province
	1974	1976		
Honiara	5,420	4,917	6,937	36
Malaita	1,540	1,752	1,499	07
Western	2,450	3,310	3,667	19
Guadalcanal	1,700	2,802	2,843	14
Isabel	600	761	578	03
Central Islands	1,600	1,637	2,586	13
Makira/Ulawa	550	731	575	03
Eastern Islands	340	500	433	02
Total	14,200*	16,410	19,118	100

\*rounded

Source: Statistical Bulletin, Statistics Office, Ministry of Finance, Honiara, July 1978, Table 9.2.

Statistical Bulletin, Statistics Office, Ministry of Finance, Honiara, December 1980, Table 9.2.

Often inequalities in levels of living are measured in terms of monetary income. If we use this standard, rather than other physical measures it comes as no surprise to find that existing incomes in the Solomons are highly unequally distributed. In 1976, although almost nine out of ten persons lived in the rural area (185,000), only 8,000 of them had employment, while one-third of Honiara's 15,000 persons were employed.

#### d. Food Production

Although the country's leaders promote self-reliance in food production as one of the main principles guiding national development, the country's per capita food production indices have fallen since the 1966 period. The Food Production Indices compiled by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), showing aggregated output of all food crops, indicate that the total food production for most Pacific Islands nations only moderately increased during the decade of the 1970s. However, using 1961-1965 as the base year, from 1966 to 1978, the Solomon Islands per capita production has suffered, sometimes as much as 24 percent in one year (Table 7). Rather than creating new ways of encouraging the rural sector to increase its traditional self-reliance in food production, the Solomons spent large sums of money for food imports. For the 1970-1979 period, the country's food import bill, on average, was 18 percent of the total import value.

#### 3.4.2 Summary

As said previously, a nation's development plan "is the official document of development practice which establishes the goals, processes and indicators of the country's organic growth." The four areas of concern which have just been examined indicate that the plan, rather than taking bold measures to counter population concentration, slowing down or reversing hyperurbanization, increasing employment opportunities outside the urban area, and creatively addressing the food issue, seems to accept these problems as unavoidable consequences of development. Some of the negative results experienced by the Solomons probably would have occurred even without having had a national development plan.

Table 7  
Food Production Indices in Some Pacific Island Countries

A. Food Production Indices														
	1961- 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Fiji	100	107	103	133	110	125	115	109	116	110	107	111	120	110
French Polynesia	100	87	83	79	103	96	79	66	58	88	96	96	96	---
New Hebrides	100	107	124	110	118	107	113	81	96	130	124	126	127	130
Papua New Guinea	100	108	109	112	115	117	120	125	130	134	139	145	146	148
Samoa	100	77	77	84	93	85	99	86	87	87	89	95	101	---
Solomon Islands	100	103	105	100	107	111	105	105	110	121	119	132	145	142
Tonga	100	121	135	125	116	103	108	120	118	124	132	138	135	137
WORLD AVERAGE	100	109	113	116	117	120	125	123	130	132	135	140	144	148
B. Per Capita Food Production Indices														
Fiji	100	98	93	117	95	105	94	87	91	85	81	82	87	78
French Polynesia	100	81	73	66	83	75	68	64	55	50	63	62	61	---
New Hebrides	100	100	113	98	102	89	92	63	74	96	91	90	88	86
Papua New Guinea	100	101	101	101	102	102	102	104	105	106	107	109	108	107
Samoa	100	71	70	75	80	71	81	68	66	65	63	66	68	---
Solomon Islands	100	95	94	87	91	89	89	82	76	90	86	92	99	94
Tonga	100	110	118	105	93	80	82	88	83	85	88	89	84	84
WORLD AVERAGE	100	103	105	106	104	106	107	104	108	107	108	110	110	112

Source: 1976 and 1978 FAO Production Yearbooks.

However, a plan should address these and other negative aspects of development if it is to "set out the best possible path for the majority of the people."

John Friedman summarizes the immediate consequences for nations suffering these negative effects of development:

1. the replication, on a national scale, of a world-wide core-periphery structure, seen in the growing concentration of population and "modern" economic activities in one area;
2. hyperurbanization, which tends to set the direction and emphasis for the nation's development process;
3. rising urban employment at the expense of unemployment of the bulk of the population; in economic terms, such a labor pool can be viewed as a massive reservoir of cheap labor;
4. steady and growing dependency on outside food supplies. (Friedmann, 1975:26-27)

The state, through the working out of the plan, allocates scarce national resources to the urban sector at the expense of the villager. Although the National Development Plan is undoubtedly based on good intentions for helping all the people of the Solomon Islands, its consequences for actual development for the bulk of the Solomonese people is something else again. Development conceived as modernization, while ensuring an improved standard of living in terms of better health and greater opportunities for education for many, has been biased toward the urban sector at the expense of the villager. The post-war era has continued the skewed pattern of development inaugurated in the last century. Development in terms of modernization favors a few and has serious implications for the economic, cultural, and political atmosphere of the country as a whole.

### 3.5 Villagers and Development

How did all these influences--Maasina Rule, decolonization and modernization--affect villagers' perception of the meaning of development? Village people constitute more than 85 percent of the population, they reside in "5038 settlements, 53 percent with less than 20 inhabitants" (Fifth Regional Conference of Statisticians, 1981:1). There is a considerable diversity among village people: a diversity of tribes, languages, customs, and physical environment. It is not surprising, then, that a consensus on development thinking and techniques focusing on rural issues has been hard to come by. Doing development projects (securing overseas monies to fund rural works like coconut, cocoa plantings and cattle raising) however, remain the most prominent aspect development thinking today. Yet development means much more to the Solomon Islands' villager than project implementation.

#### 3.5.1 Villager's Development Perspective

There is reluctance on the part of villagers to accept a development pattern which concentrates almost exclusively on a cash-bound lifestyle. Villagers consider the non-economic benefits gained from certain communal enterprises like the traditional feast--houa--which engages whole village populations for weeks at a time more important than say, agricultural productivity. Often Western development wisdom, faced with this type of "inefficient" behavior, responds by bringing selected farmers to central locations to teach them how to be better farmers. Or, there is an emphasis on trained agricultural extension officers who seek to draw fellow villagers deeper into cash cropping. The long-term effects of such procedures are doubtful because the major issue

at stake has not been addressed: "how fundamental a social and cultural transformation does economic modernization demand?" (Geertz, 1963:143).

Development as modernization:

- moves economic activity away from the kinship unit
- alters exchange and consumption patterns
- changes stratification and political systems
- institutionalizes learning
- reduces the functions of the family unit to more organized roles
- and, in general, subverts the status quo.

What remains unanswered, however, is how these changes can be strengthened and stabilized through creative adaptations of traditional culture. In practical terms: how deeply must the Melanesian way of life change to incorporate economic modernization? What aspects of traditional society need to be changed in the process of transformational development? What is it that must change in the process and what need not? More importantly, who must be involved in the process?

The point is not that each and every aspect of the Melanesian way of life must be preserved whenever possible, but that it has a role to play in the transition. The emphasis on culture is not meant to imply an uncritical and unqualified acceptance of traditional culture traits as desirable, socially beneficial or even acceptable to members of a given society. Some of the traditions and customs concerning childbirth in 'Are'are society are injurious to village women, for instance. In many modern societies the prevailing image of man is economic man. In 'Are'are society, however, the dominant image of man is social man: it emphasizes knowledge of one's social obligations

and good interpersonal relations as the goal of personal development (de Coppet and Zemp, 1978:59-69; Keesing, 1978:58). Even in obvious economic transactions like the Solomonese bride price ceremonies the major goal is to solidify kinship: "An exchange of goods appears as a momentary episode in a continuous social relation" (Sahlins, 1971: 43). Regardless of whether a cultural characteristic is considered positive or negative, its modification, alteration or abandonment should occur in a way that is not overly disruptive of community and individual life. If there are areas of transition, then those who seek to transcend their traditional culture stand a better chance of finding new forms of cultural synthesis that nurture rather than destroy the quality of life.

### 3.5.2 Village-based Development Awareness

Although development workers in the Solomon Islands agree that they should use traditional culture as one of the important building blocks for a solid development edifice, finding ways to accomplish this task has proven difficult (Bathgate, 1975; National Development Plan, 1980:15-18; Keen, 1978:37-38). How this is best accomplished, even what traditional culture means, is far from certain. A major assumption of this work is that by directly strengthening the village sector, to focusing development strategies to directly improving the quality of village life, by investing in village level priorities, a transformational development model would best tap into the powers and strengths of traditional culture. The Solomon Islands village becomes, then, the transitional point.

Solomon Islander leaders have declared themselves in agreement, as witnessed in the draft National Development Plan:



Solomonese village life is where more than 85 percent of the population live their formative, productive and retirement years. The village is a major reality in the lives of all people, even those residing in the city. It is precisely there in the village that people live their culture which forms, structures and directs them. If we accept as a sound development practice to take people where they are, to enhance those parts of the lives of individuals and communities which are core to their existence and to build upon those processes already deep within a people's being, then enhancing village life and centering our educational and economic efforts there should be a sound development strategy for all levels of Solomonese society.

Since the vast majority of Solomon Islanders live in a village setting, it is not sufficient to plan, organize and implement rural development projects and think there is an automatic positive transfer of value to the village sector. "Rural" is not the same as "village." Rural projects like logging and agribusiness have few direct positive results, and often impact negatively on the quality of rural life (National Development Plan).

Development should be understood as a process which begins in the head and only then goes out to things. It should be sensitive to the changing relationships between persons and community, how they relate to their land and especially to the future each person and each community wishes to work out for itself. Development should be primarily human-centered. It is an ethical-political issue transcending economics and statistics.

Solomon Islander leaders have declared themselves in agreement, as witnessed in the draft National Development Plan:



The method for bringing about these gradual improvements is to start with a programme of adult or community education. The purpose would be to increase people's awareness of the resources available to them, change their attitudes from an acceptance of the existing state of things into a belief that they can modify and improve their conditions themselves. (1981:17)

The draft calls for a stepped-up program whereby village people could become aware of the outside influences impacting upon their lives. Villagers and politicians (local as well as national) wish that such efforts could begin immediately, and in their own areas. There have been a number of local efforts identified within the Solomons attempting to offer an effective contribution to village development.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The following institutions and organizations conduct village-based training in the Solomon Islands:

- a) St. Dominic's Community Development Centre, Kolobangara, Western Province.
- b) St. Martin's Rural Training Centre, Tenaru, Guadalcanal Province.
- c) Wainoni Bay Rural Resource Centre, Wainoni Bay, Makira Province.
- d) In January 1980 the Malaita Provincial Government Agricultural and Extension Services with its Training Centers at:

Dala, Malaita  
Odo Creek, Guadalcanal  
Barakoma, Yasabel  
Kaonasugu, Makira

- e) Livestock (formerly Cattle) Development Authority.
- f) Women's Groups (organized by local Christian Churches and the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific):

Mother's Unions  
Women's Clubs  
Dorcas Welfare Societies.

The Malaita Assembly formally submitted a project request through the Solomon Islands Government to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. This \$66,000 project proposal was to set up and coordinate community training on Malaita. The assembly members felt a need for a program which would contact rural communities, disseminate information and coordinate training and educational efforts.

Later in 1980 the International Human Assistance Program, a non-profit organization which has been operating in these islands since 1978, helped the Peace Corps Volunteers to hold two conferences featuring community development themes. These conferences were held on Guadalcanal in July and August 1980 and involved nine Peace Corps members, their counterparts, and six other Solomon Islanders associated with community development programs. These workshops were designed to strengthen the capabilities of those Solomonese who worked in the rural areas to accomplish village level development.

On many levels, then--National Government, Provincial Assembly, non-government organizations, churches and villages--there is an awareness, a recognition of the need to encounter and engage the village population in the development process. There is also an awareness that a new development consciousness of village people is not created by mere physical contact with the modern sector or simply deepening their involvement with the national economy. Such a consciousness grows by continuous and integrated community-involved education patterns which stress dialogue. This educational pattern helps create the atmosphere in which rural communities become object and subject of the development process "a continuing process of community development and adult education organized through their own communal efforts, never were forgotten."

education in the villages, helping the people to become aware of their own problems and preparing them for change" (National Development Plan, 1980:15).

The term "adult education" hides as much as it describes, however. Sometimes it is called "community education" or "community development." What is needed, whatever name is used, is not just a program of courses particularized for adults (such as village-store bookkeeping, outboard engine repair, basic sewing lessons, etc.) which serve isolated individuals or areas. These courses can only be truly effective if they are connected with programs which train villagers to become more aware of the outside influences impacting on their lives, programs which encourage these people to master the basic economic, organizational and political skills necessary for their understanding of and ability to shape their own futures. Hence, the first step in a village-based education is raising village people's consciousness of what the development issue is all about.

### 3.6 'Are'are Development Attempts

The villager's traditional way-of-life, distance from the urban center and self-reliant life-style have allowed greater freedom to experiment with alternative development approaches emphasizing Melanesian values. As an example of this relative freedom in action, the 'Are'are tribes's development attempts are instructive.

The years following Maasina Rule were difficult ones for the 'Are'are people. The twin goals of the movement: a political future launched with great fanfare in early 1966 and was joined by a sister ship, the Harutai Maasina in 1971. Unfortunately, the Harutai Maasina was lost on a reef near Noggela in 1977. The company had also set up

Although the government had crushed their first attempt by outlawing the Maasina Rule movement, the war-event and their startling response to it could never leave the people as they were before. These years after Maasina Rule were, in retrospect, a plateau period wherein the people re-grouped their forces and tried their hand at development once again. Thus began a series of conventional rural development schemes, this time, blessed by government but, significantly, without an indigenous organization like Maasina Rule monitoring and guiding their efforts. Development projects were mainly based on individual efforts, such as planting cocoa and coconuts as cash crops, running small retail shops in the village and operating small trade ships.

A sense of frustration and dissatisfaction began to appear in the early 1960s. After more than ten years of tax payment, work on plantations, and generally complying with British government directives for development, villagers had little to show for their efforts. The village people felt the world was passing them by.

Two separate, at times antagonistic, movements appeared in the 'Are'are area. One group, called the 'Are'are Maasina Company, wished to unite the people through the local construction and use of a small trading vessel. This ship, the 'Are'are Maasina, was to be the sole shipping link for the area's copra and other agriculture produce, and was to make journeys to the capital easier. Its development focus was an organization directed essentially to commercial ends with the traditional leaders in commanding positions. The 'Are'are Maasina was launched with great fanfare in early 1966 and was joined by a sister ship, the Harutai Maasina in 1971. Unfortunately, the Harutai Maasina was lost on a reef near Noggela in 1977. The company had also set up

small trade stores in Maka (on the Southern tip of Big Malaita) and Auki, the provincial capital, and opened a shipping office in Honiara. At the end of 1980, the company sold the remaining ship to a group of people in Langa Langa, Malaita. During the fifteen years of operation the 'Are'are Maasina Company earned little profit. More importantly, many villagers of the area grew disenchanted with the whole enterprise. Villagers complained that the ship had not lived up to its promises of helping the 'Are'are people and had failed to return any dividend to those who had invested their time, labor and money in its construction.

Another development movement, one with which I was intimately involved, was called Village Committees. The Village Committees focused on village development along communal lines, attempting to respond to needs perceived to be important to the people concerned. For example, since sickness was a serious problem in the area, a major clinic was constructed in 1969 with the help of outside funding and communal work. In order to finance the on-going expenses of the clinic, a sixty-acre coconut plantation was hacked out of the jungle.

The major accomplishments of the committees, however, were not so much the successful projects improving their social welfare, as their organizational achievements and the active participation of many village people within these structures. The Village Committees, created by local people in 1968, attempted to respond to the socio-economic needs of the area. Usually eight to ten adults of a village were elected to the unpaid posts of president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary and council members. We, the members and I as adviser, formulated the

principal duties of the organization over a period of years through a process of trial and error. These duties consisted in:

1. being responsible to the socio-economic needs of their villages as a whole;
2. organizing cooperative efforts with other villages in the area for district level needs;
3. representing the village in matters relating to development both to government as well as the Central Committee--an area-wide development organization;
4. planning, supervising, saving money and controlling village level development projects, and,
5. meeting often, although irregularly, during the year to discuss development issues.

In 1968 the Village Committees began to function, one in each of the nine villages involved with the building of the clinic. The duties of the committee members, as given above, grew out of their mutual interaction in the planning, supervision and construction of the clinic. Later that same year the committee members invited representatives from other villages of 'Are'are to participate in a two-day development meeting. During this meeting a number of issues were discussed and two major resolutions were passed:

1. Each participating village should organize its own committee along the lines of the original committees.
2. Each year the representatives of these committees should meet to discuss district-wide development goals and strategies.

Since the area was easily divided into three sections, called districts, a second level of organization arose: District Committees. These three organizations, consisting of unpaid members drawn from the

village committee membership, were to discuss development issues of their respective districts at the regular December general meetings. Their main function was to strike a healthy balance among family, village and district goals.

A third level of organization, the General Committee, slowly evolved. This group attempted to articulate development goals over the whole geographical area covered by the village committees. The General Committee consisted of two members from each of the three districts. This committee although having no formal power to set area-wide development goals and strategies did become the organizing power through the yearly December meetings which continued for almost ten years, 1968 through 1977.

Essential to their view of development was that the local group, the village people themselves, must have the major say in the process, not an outside agency. As Alikì Nono'ohimae wrote to the British colonial government in 1973 "We were once endowed with political power, money and laws, we knew how to feed ourselves and to work as a community. . . . we determined to restore the conditions of political power to our own" (de Coppet, 1977:108).

### 3.7 Summary

The preceding word-picture of how the typical villagers' perception of development evolves helps us to understand how they experienced the philosophy: a growing urban center residing within a dominated and different meanings of development. Villagers have felt an inconsistent yet pervasive process. The dominant pattern of development inaugurated in the nineteenth century persisted through the twentieth, right up to present-day independent Solomon Islands. The earliest colonial



masters found a people living a subsistence life-style: technologies that were seemingly simple but often were highly involved, labor intensive and ecologically appropriate; a system of social and economic organization that was harmonious with the natural environment; a highly effective use of limited resources and a marked degree of skill in social interaction. Yet they were a vulnerable society. Their numbers were small, their skills and knowledge were considered inappropriate to the colonial social and political economy and they lacked the political, social and economic power to command the attention of the nation's leaders and decision makers.

The development model offered to the Solomonese made them increasingly dependent on non-indigenous supplies, determined their economic and social values, reduced their economic reciprocity and redistribution patterns, weakened the traditional ways of interaction with their physical habitat, and produced psychological and social dislocation. At first these changes were mediated by interventions of the plantation systems, missionaries, the cash economy and the government administration. Later on, because of the changed international political climate, development meant bringing more of the island people into the process but essentially it remained the same pattern as before: a few prospering at the expense of the many. Honiara, the nation's capital, became the living example of that philosophy: a growing urban center residing within a dominated and faltering rural sector.

Fortunately, another force was always at work with the village people. During the first years of European contact, flight into the



mountains and remoteness protected many Solomon Islanders from the imported development model. When these avenues of escape were closing down, Maasina Rule articulated an alternate vision of island life. In spite of it being crushed by the authorities, its spirit continued on in local attempts to redefine "the good life" in terms closer to the Melanesian life-style. Some of these attempts seemed to duplicate the conventional model of development--the 'Are'are Maasina Co.--while others embraced an alternative vision. My own experience with the latter led me to return to 'Are'are to see if such a vision could indeed be continued and strengthened. The following chapters are an unfolding of the ways I used to create, sustain, and strengthen development in a transformational mode.

## CHAPTER IV

### TRAINING PARAPROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENTS

#### 4.1 Introduction

To help provide villagers insights into the meaning of development, procedures other than conventional classroom ones become necessary. Besides being financially impossible, the formal education pattern too often attracts only the already educated and thereby results in an unequal distribution of the service. Moreover, formal systems often give a service inappropriate to village needs. To come to grips with such issues, I chose local village men to train as paraprofessionals. I felt that they would be an essential ingredient in the work of introducing their fellow villagers to the meaning of transformational development. Through their greater cultural sensitivity and affinity, the villagers trained as paraprofessionals were expected to provide educational experiences which would highlight the experiences and understandings of village people. The aim of this new educational experience was to activate villagers to participate in the improvement of their own welfare. These same paraprofessionals could also become a nucleus continuing the same work once my own participation had ended.

In the first section of this chapter I briefly discuss what constitutes paraprofessionals and their potential for service. The second section deals with the selection process, background of the candidates chosen and the community's involvement in the program. The next part describes their training, the subject matter of their training course,

and compensation of these co-workers as paraprofessionals. The last section is a descriptive overview and summary of the paraprofessional program in the 'Are'are part of Malaita.

## 4.2 The Paraprofessional

There is no standard definition of what constitutes a paraprofessional but the "core of the concept denotes a person indigenous to the service area who has very limited technical or specialized training" (Esman, 1980:2). Paraprofessionals commonly perform a number of different functions:

- they frequently provide specific services for a community like health care (first aid, maternal-child feeding) and distribution of agricultural inputs (fertilizers and insecticides);
- they are involved in education by spreading information about new technologies;
- closely allied with the two previous functions is another aspect of the paraprofessional--they are organizers for self-help activities
- they act as links between external goods and services and the local community;
- they refer persons of the community to institutions and facilities able to provide more complex services;
- they frequently are asked to keep records and collect and do first-level analysis of data;
- they act as demonstrators of new techniques, as in the case of model farmers. (Esman, 1980)

Although paraprofessionals may function primarily in one area of competence, they become in fact "an intermediary between local publics and a service industry, transmitting information in both directions and assisting local publics to claim and use resources which are

available through the paraprofessional's efforts" (Esman, 1980:8). They have been called at various times and in different places village health workers, animateur, community health aids, or model farmers.

The following characteristics are at the heart of the paraprofessional role: limited formal schooling, short-duration of training period, native to service area, direct contact with community, part of an organized group and work on a part-time basis.

Case studies in six countries on three continents confirm that paraprofessionals can and do successfully extend useful services which otherwise would be unavailable to the rural poor, and they are able to stimulate broad community involvement. If they are provided with good management, attract adequate support and enjoy community backing, there is likely to be good potential for successfully engaging them.

Participation on the part of the local community in the paraprofessional work is critical to the success of the program since the service to be rendered centers on the local community. Yet care must be exercised to circumvent dominance of factional interests in the selection of candidates. Selection criteria should be broad enough so as to allow individuals to qualify for the program without being selected out prematurely. Literacy, for example, may not be as necessary as it first appears.

#### 4.2.1 Paraprofessionals and 'Are'are Development

F. G. Keen, in his government sponsored study on the relation of Solomon Islands rural institutions to rural development, pinpointed the necessity of using paraprofessionals to fulfill some rural development needs. His study underscored the fact that the potential of

paraprofessionals will continue to be compromised unless there is a realistic paraprofessional strategy. That strategy would require a program with adequate supervision and reliable logistic support so that the paraprofessional could provide appropriate services compatible with emerging needs and could enjoy the confidence of the rural people (Keen, 1979:56-61). He strongly endorsed the Mobile Team concept as part of an overall strategy.

#### 4.3 Selection Process

In early June 1980, I lived for a few days in each of the West 'Are'are villages which I hoped would participate in the research effort. My intention was to personally explain why I had returned to the area after almost six years absence. I had previously left the area in 1974, and had briefly returned to the islands to be part of their independence celebration in 1978. In village meetings and in private conversations I spoke about the nature of my research, outlined the schedule of events for the next few months (which included the selection and training of local village men as co-workers), and indicated the possible outcome of the whole program. These visits took the entire month of June. During the visits I searched for co-workers who could become first-rate paraprofessionals: persons with proven track records of trustworthiness, and local leadership qualities.

##### 4.3.1 Candidates

Ten men were finally selected to begin the two-month training in July and August, 1980. I selected eight of the candidates after conferring with local leaders. Two other men asked to be accepted and

after some consultation, their request was granted. Women were not selected in the initial training period due to 'Are'are cultural constraints. At a later date, when the program had been better understood and acceptable to villagers, local women, too, trained as paraprofessionals. The following list gives the names, ages in 1980 and brief background of the individuals selected:

JOHN AIHUNU, 42, politician, recently returned to the area to direct communal cattle project in the village of Wairokai.

ALBERT NORI, 34, teacher, son of one of the founders of Maasina Rule, director in his village of Kiu.

SERAPINO ENIMATO, 49, farmer, asked to join the group; he is from the village of Harumou.

ALFRED HAIRIU, 32, teacher, paramount chief of his village, Nareikeara.

ALBERT HAUHERE, 32, teacher, deep interest in the development issue; comes from Ahu village.

JOHN KANAI, 47, storeman, de facto leader of his village and founding member of Committee System in 1968; he comes from Harumou village.

SELISO MAINIUTA, 33, farmer, asked to participate in the training; he hails from Kopo.

TOBIA MAIMAROSIA, 33, teacher, leader of development in his village of Pipisu.

PELISE MORAMAI, 52, catechist, active in village development at Kopo.

PATI WAIHANO, 58, catechist, founding member of Committee System in 1969; resident of Rutorea village.

The selected members represented a geographic mix which was fairly even throughout the twenty mile stretch of the proposed study site. Although not every West 'Are'are village had its own representative, a promise was made and kept that in the second course to be given after

the initial Village Development Education Workshops, each village could have its own representative if it deemed it necessary. Also, the absence of women in the start-up training period was partly addressed in the second training session when two women attended the course.

Each of the selected members was married, all but one (J. Kanai) had children, and they were recognized as established members of the community, having strong linkages both to the youth (through the teachers of the group) as well as to the traditional 'Are'are leaders. The most outstanding non-representative quality of the selected group was the fact that all were of one religion--Catholic.

The second training session in January, 1981, addressed this issue when persons of other religions (South Sea Evangelical Church, Anglican, Seventh-Day Adventists and traditional believers) attended the second development training course.

Except for the four teachers, none of the candidates had any secondary schooling. The remaining six members each had attended only a few years of grammar school, and this formal education was more than thirty years in the past for a number of the older ones chosen.

Each of the candidates finally selected to train as a paraprofessional had been publicly recognized by the tribe as a Bigman, catechist, teacher or development leader some time in the immediate past. The community's contributions to the program--a public acceptance of the new paraprofessionals--came during the period when the Development Education Workshops were given. These three-day workshops held for more than eighteen participating villages were the occasions when the villages put their public seal of approval to the program. Each of

the villages fed and housed the Mobile Teams--the paraprofessionals traveled in two teams of five--when conducting the Development Education Workshops.

#### 4.4 Training Program

The training program consisted of a training period of two months in which many aspects of development theory were studied and discussed and practice sessions were held in which the trainees put their knowledge to use. The language of instruction was mainly in the 'Are'are language although English and Pijin English were also used in equal amounts.

##### 4.4.1 Nature of Training

The training course for the paraprofessionals began July 4 and ended August 31, 1980. During these weeks, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday from 8:30 in the morning to 3:30 in the afternoon the trainees attended class. Each of the twenty-four days of instruction consisted of approximately five hours of class (instruction, discussion and written work); and two to three hours of informal gatherings and discussions reviewing the day's lessons. Each day's session followed the following pattern:

- 8:30-10:30 - lecture notes distributed  
- review of previous week's work
- 10:30-11:00 - short break
- 11:00-12:00 - lectures continue  
- discussion/question period
- 12:00-1:30 - lunch



- 1:30-3:30
  - translation work
  - small group discussions
  - practice sessions
- 3:30
  - end of formal session
- Evenings
  - open-ended discussion period

Each trainee was requested to take personal notes during the lecture period to increase the likelihood of understanding and retaining the difficult subject matter. From the second weekend onwards the lecture/discussion material from the previous weekend was typed, mimeographed and distributed to each of the trainees. (A complete copy of these notes may be found in Appendix A.) We used the first few hours of the new weekend to review the material covered the previous week; the typed mimeograph notes were slowly and carefully read aloud so as to encourage further questioning and to reinforce understanding and retention of the previous week's instruction, discussions and observations.

Morning sessions of the training period stressed the importance of understanding, discussing and digesting the development material which was clearly new and difficult for all the trainees. Afternoons were given over to the more practical chores of translating the mimeograph notes into the local language, 'Are'are, for small group discussions focusing on the meaning of the studied material for villagers; and practice sessions in which the paraprofessionals practiced sharing their newly-acquired knowledge and insights with each other. During the evening hours a more relaxed approach prevailed. Trainees who found certain areas of study particularly difficult to grasp would seek out help from other members of the group or from me.

These primate meetings proved helpful to me in preparing review lessons for the entire group.

Between weekends when the trainees returned to their home villages, they accomplished a number of home assignments like sharing the new information and knowledge with their village people, completing translation work and studying their mimeograph notes. Although not compulsory, each trainee was asked to keep a running log or diary in which to record events of the training period and development workshops in the village and to jot down insights, questions and discussions concerning the development issue. Unfortunately, none took advantage of the notebooks distributed for this purpose. They used it almost exclusively for note taking during lecture and discussion periods.

The training period and course of study took place at the Catholic Church station, Rohinari, located at one end of the 'Are'are lagoon. This location made for easy and secure canoe travel during the winter months when the seas tend to be rough. Fr. Siebo Leppen, a priest of the Society of Mary, in charge of the station, re-commissioned an old classroom to serve as our lecture hall, discussion locale and workshop area for the duration of the research period--June 1980 to April 1981. He also allowed use of the station's typewriter and mimeograph machine on which I produced all the duplicated material. These last items became a critical part of the training of the paraprofessionals. No matter how thorough the pre-service training would be, the trainees could not be expected to absorb enough material in the classroom training sessions to enable them to perform effectively in the field. A combination of readily available mimeograph notes plus weekly classroom reviews and actual hands-on experience of conducting development

education workshops in the village proved invaluable in helping the paraprofessionals internalize much of the new material, and also assisted them in sharing their material with villagers.

#### 4.5 Subject Matter

The major purposes of the paraprofessional two-month training period were (1) to expose them to a fuller meaning of the development issue than they had in the past experienced, (2) to formulate procedures, means and tools whereby they, as paraprofessionals, could share their new insights with their own people, and (3) to begin the process of social mobilization in which they and the villagers could more effectively address development issues in local terms. From the very beginning of the training period the paraprofessionals focused their attention on understanding the full ramifications of the development issue and their peoples' place in the development debate. The subject matter chosen for study reflected both theoretical and practical concerns. From a theoretical perspective, the study matter focused on a number of problems at the heart of the development controversy, such as the clash of world views of expatriate and the people of the islands. In practical terms, the course highlighted the actual consequences of development practiced in the Solomon Islands over the past hundred years or so--its effects on the islands in general and on Malaita, their home island, in particular. Alternative development examples were also taken from developing countries.

#### 4.5.1 Theoretical Aspects of Training

The first section of the training, which took approximately three weekends, focused initially on a general working definition of development, followed by an explanation of the different actors--the individuals, organizations and societies--involved in the development process, and finally a detailed description of how expatriates and Melanesians view their respective worlds. The first definition of development given was "a process by which persons and societies come to realize the full potential of human life in a context of social justice" (To be found in my Development Notes--DN--in Appendix A, p. 209). Such a broad definition allowed for a wide-ranging introduction to the development issue. Its moral dimension, communal accent and human-life focus all helped point future inquiries in the direction of something which was wider and deeper than the economic solutions so often favored by those living outside the rural areas. Rather than taking each word of the definition separately, a choice was made to highlight the important concepts explicitly or implicitly contained in it. Ideas like the meaning of process, people centeredness, organizational efforts in behalf of development and alternate development solutions, which should embrace the whole of life and not be limited to narrow aspects of people's lives, were expanded upon.

One of the more difficult concepts for the trainees to grasp and work with was that society should be perceived from two mutually enhancing angles: the actor-perspective and the structure-perspective. Each view, although differing in fundamental ways, draws attention to different aspects of social affairs. The actor-perspective of society is a continuous question for all of us. From the beginning we understood

was clear enough: "persons, organizations, even nations equipped with distinct personalities, differing intentions and capabilities, eagerly looking for ways to pursue their goals" (DN, p. 213). But the structure-view of the social order--in which society is made up of positions and whoever is in those positions is either benefiting or suffering not so much from the intention of the persons occupying those positions but from the position itself--proved to be a more difficult concept to work with. The difficulty lay, I think, in the actual working out of a structure-view of society in their everyday lives. In their own daily experiences, examples of horizontal relationships so typical of the actor-view far outnumber the vertical ones essential to the structural-view of society.

Their day-by-day dealings with other people took on the character of equality of exchange; only rarely did a vertical relationship of working with an authority figure such as a Bigman, government official, or church leader enter their daily lives. It became necessary to establish in the trainees' minds the hard reality of the dominant nation/international structure which informs the modern-world, especially its economic structures. The broadly painted pen-picture of First, Second and Third Worlds and their economic relationships (sketched in DN, p.215) plus the flood of questions generated by the subject matter helped clarify the issue. The conscious attempt to link international, national and local situations reinforced the process which was to be at the heart of the whole training period--"Thinking globally, acting locally."

How best to share insights and knowledge with villagers posed a continuous question for all of us. From the beginning we understood

that the critical test of paraprofessional competence came not so much in terms of what was grasped inside the classroom, but in terms of how well the trainee could establish similar understanding in the minds of the typical villager. The creation of the Development Wheel was our first attempt to flesh out our theoretical considerations into workable practice.

A more comprehensive treatment of the Development Wheel and its importance in the Development Education Workshops will be introduced in Chapter VI. However, a brief overview can now be given. The Wheel, as it became known, went through a number of revisions but basic to each refinement was the desire to capture the dynamic nature of development in a single understandable picture. The view of development as a people's need to grow personally and materially reflected the actor-view of society. Social development (that is the man-made social environment that should go with human well-being) responded to the structure of society. These three aspects--the personal, material and social parts of life--were each further divided into a number of closely related concepts, eighteen in all, and placed as spokes on the wheel picture. All were joined together to form different spokes of one wheel to give an integrated picture of development. All three parts were conceived as interdependent and mutually enhancing. Any attempt at forcing one area of life to dominate the other areas would probably bring destruction to the whole edifice. The use of a wheel figure attempts to show that all three well-beings should occur approximately at the same time to get the proper wheel-effect. As mentioned in Chapter III, the modernization theory of development calls for material expansion of the nation first and then the other growth patterns--



personal and social well-being--would somehow follow. The wheel figure suggests that all three areas of life grew together or there was little true progress for them separately. However, all of these insights, in spite of their importance, would be wasted unless the villagers could grasp their significance, and publicly discuss their importance. The whole encounter needed to be done in a manner which would encourage the participation of all levels of the village.

These concepts leapt to life when villagers learned to score themselves on the Development Wheel at the education workshops coordinated by the paraprofessionals. Each adult villager scored his/her village on each of the spokes of the Wheel--from 1 (poor) to 10 (excellent). To make the scoring, but more importantly the discussion which was generated during the scoring exercise more manageable, the village population was divided into three or four equal-sized but mixed (men, women and young people) groups. Each small group was then given a blank Development Wheel sheet. The group score for each spoke was the average score of the members of that group. A dot corresponding to the average mark was then put on that particular line of the spoke. At the end of the scoring (the complete exercise took approximately one hour and a half), all the dots on the lines were joined up together by straight lines to see how close the group's judgment on the village was to the rim of the Development Wheel. Then all the separate groups' scores were averaged into one "official" development picture for that particular village. By showing the just-completed Wheel immediately after the finish of the exercise, the village person had not only a picture of what development looked like in his/her village but more importantly

he/she had publicly discussed, argued and arrived at a rough consensus on some of the theoretical aspects of development as applied to themselves in their own village.

#### 4.5.2 Melanesian World View and Development

At the core of the whole research effort was the necessity to create a change in attitude towards the meaning of development, first among the trainees and ultimately among villagers. The purpose was to establish another way of looking at the world which could bring with it a new direction of inquiry, new techniques and new habits of thought concerning development. The study-course was not designed to have people simply cope with their present life. It sought to prepare a new set of tools which could help villagers question the fundamental expectations and assumptions implicit in the development model which they had experienced over the years.

In depth re-examination of the basic parameters of one's life often entails importing a pattern of organization from another field of inquiry and adapting a methodology designed to address different problems. For instance, Jesus Christ made use of the literary device--parable--to shatter the culture of expectation of the Jewish listeners of his time. His parables spoke about the master who gives a feast but invites strangers; the Pharisee's prayer is unheard while the Publican's is answered; how the Lord favors the poor man before the rich; relatives are placed in secondary position of power; and so on. By the use of parables Christ made his listeners aware of a new way of viewing reality.



Paulo Freire used another approach to break through to community consciousness. Through the use of non-formal educational techniques he helped communities become more aware of their living conditions. Here is an example of an educator using a non-formal educational tool. What is needed for the change of attitude towards development, then, is having the trainees thinking not only in terms of alternative hypotheses but in terms of alternative worlds.

Economic, political and social structures of society are key but it is culture, the social cosmology which is the carrier of meaning and the shaper of values. Any analysis which overlooks cultural elements or simply reduces such elements to consequences of economic or political arrangements is inadequate and most likely misleading. A central concern of the present inquiry is that cultural differences between the expatriate and the Solomon Islander are rarely accounted for in the development debate, and yet these may play a central role in determining whether the development patterns planned for this nation-state are beneficial or destructive to the people. Or, to put a point on the matter, the failure to recognize the significant cultural differences between the planner and the one planned-for may go far in explaining why development in the Solomon Islands has been disruptive and unresponsive to local aspirations.

The issue at stake is not simply one of European ignorance or insensitivity to island culture. Unfortunately, the gulf of ignorance between the two parties is mutual. Island people are as much at a loss to adequately explain what is meant by Western culture as most expatriates fail to grasp the heart of Melanesian and Polynesian cultures. In the development debate this inability to delve into the essential

elements of each other's culture plays a considerable role in the misunderstanding of the meaning of development. There are a number of ways to define culture, but Geertz offers one which succinctly covers the most commonly used definitions:

it denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes toward life. (1973:89)

Implicit in this definition is that a structure--patterns of millions of human transactions with a certain sameness over time--is core to the idea of culture. The true meaning of culture, then, transcends things like dance forms, or unique ways of cooking, dressing or acting. Culture in its essence is about the way people view reality. It is a people's social map of the cosmos; a civilization's general assumptions about how the world in general and human relations in particular are organized and how they came about (DN, p. 219).

Another way to view culture is to see it as a people's social cosmology which contains deep ideologies (a person's and a society's basic system of goals and values) and deep structures (concrete means usually through routine transactions chosen to achieve these goals). The class material which I chose accented the social cosmology of both the expatriate and Melanesian so that the paraprofessionals could begin to understand that different civilizations' view of reality springs from sources much deeper than the intention of the individual actor. Culture, the vehicle which carries meaning, establishes what is considered normal and natural for that society. Development practice

depends much less upon the intention and actions of the individual actors than the deep ideologies and deep structures from which the actor works.

To help the trainees grasp the meaning of a Western social map as well as having a better feel for their own culture's world-view, important parts of these cultures were studied and discussed. To understand a culture's social map certain key elements must be focused on. Thus "we should have a fair idea of how a culture/civilization views the structure of social SPACE, of what has importance in social TIME, of the meaning of KNOWLEDGE, of how MAN is joined to other MEN, MAN to NATURE, and finally MAN to GOD" (DN: p. 223). If an accurate idea can be established as to what a culture considers its normal and natural structure/meaning in terms of space, time, knowledge, man to man, man to nature and man to God relations then a valid claim can be made that one understands what that culture sees as normal and natural to its world.

Initially the trainees reviewed my account of each category of the Western social map point by point. To highlight the Western model we drew attention to other cultures like the Chinese and Japanese and discussed how these cultures viewed space, time, and so on.

The Melanesian social cosmology was analyzed in two stages: first for pre-contact days, and second for the period in which island people had begun to feel the impact of Western ways on their life-style (DN: p. 224). It was important to distinguish these two periods because the trainees and ultimately the 'Are'are villagers could begin to appreciate not only the direction development had taken over the years but

also, and more importantly, why development had gone in that direction. For example, to reinforce an important theme--"thinking globally, acting locally"--this part of the study introduced the fact that while a handful of nations dominated international trade and economics the majority of nations remained on the periphery of world events.

The international Center/Periphery concept is replicated on the local scene. Village and Honiara, the capital of the Solomons, has a relationship which often reflects this same international model. Such a domination pattern is fast becoming an unquestioned state-of-affairs both to villagers and urban dwellers alike, a normal and natural way of structuring society, although hardly a pattern reflecting the Melanesian way of viewing the world.

The topic provoked for ranging discussions among the trainees and afterwards became a core subject-matter during the ensuing village workshops. Since most Melanesians had unconsciously formed an idea of what constituted a "Whiteman's" view, this study had for the first time given them a key for unlocking the meaning of the expatriate social cosmology as well as a better grasp of their own world view. The study of social cosmologies also strengthened the contention that the development problem was something more than undertaking projects and simply entering more deeply into the cash economy. Development work was beginning to be understood more as an ethical and political issue and less as an economic one.

An example of a possible future Melanesian social cosmology concluded this section of the course (DN: p. 227). The new social map assumes that Melanesians themselves would not serve their cause by

simply joining the best of both worlds, Western and Melanesian. They would need to create a third world-view, much like parents create a third being from their core. The child born is not the best of both but of the core of both. Simply returning to traditional ways and customs would not sustain them enough through the trauma and struggle for the future. They need a synthesis which will help them see themselves as conscious actors in the rearrangement of that reality, actors who are fulfilling a freely embraced destiny. Understanding and working on a new social map would help them see a vision of the transformed community.

A necessary first step to this transformational process is accomplished by detailing the practical effects of the Western social cosmology on Solomon Islands life. The theoretical section of the training course ended, and we proceeded to focus on the practical side of the course material.

#### 4.6 Western Development Results

So far during the paraprofessional's study-course the effects of the Western social cosmology on traditional island life had been touched upon only lightly. The Western world-view has had its positive effect. The Western system provided an extended educational system fostered by the Christian churches of which they, the paraprofessionals, had been the beneficiaries. They also had experienced the profound importance of government health care in their lives. Government health care has been the West's crowning achievement in these islands. However, the very same social cosmology also produced serious negative results as well. In this part of the study a more detailed analysis,

drawn from official government sources and other authors, drew a more detailed picture of the effects the Western world-view has had for both the capital city, Honiara and the village sector (DN: pp. 228-233). This close study of how Western-style development impacted the village sector proved to be a powerful impetus for villagers to re-examine their own development goals and processes during the workshops.

The trainees proved to be weak in their knowledge concerning development works, projects and practices of other nations and by other groups of people. Five examples of other countries' development efforts were chosen. These examples highlighted structural change in favor of the powerless and not merely an actor change. The point being made was that these countries illustrated the fact that communities closest to development problems are the ones which would make the major development decisions. Such decisions should be born from a mixture of theory and practice worked out at the local level. The results from a particular round of action helped refine earlier theory, to produce, hopefully more intelligent practice. This on-going interaction would produce development praxis--a continuing round of theory, informing and informed by development practice (DN: p. 233).

In the next part of the training session we discussed Malaita development history from the last third of the nineteenth century to the present day (DN: pp. 241-245). There was a conscious attempt to integrate the Maasina Rule movement into the wider historical context of development in general. This perception was new for the trainees since they had conceived Maasina Rule in anti-government terms alone rather than as pro-development in Malaita.

The last section of the course (DN: pp. 246-249) outlined the major parameters of an alternative development which reflected this people's social cosmology. Although traditional unity within small clusters of people had been forever shattered, the building blocks for constructing a new type of unity continued to exist. The vast majority of rural people continued to live in community/village settings which stressed close social interaction and common ties and all of this took place in a recognized physical locale. The unit of development would be the community as such, rather than the individual or family-oriented development schemes which dominated development thinking of the nation--and which seemed to have been counterproductive.

The whole training course, then, was structured to allow the trainees to experience a new way of looking at development and at the same time prepare them to share this experience with their village compatriots. The two-month training session had emphasized not only the need for grasping development theory but, just as importantly, how best to transmit these insights to men, women and young people living village life. We now turn to explain how we worked out ways and means to translate classroom learning into an understandable experience for villagers.

#### 4.7 Practice Session

The paraprofessional trainees at the development course were able to give two months of weekends (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) to attend class. Such a luxury was unavailable to village people. Hence, we are a group determined to create a learning situation for villagers whereby they too could capture the core of the development course but



in a much shorter time frame--in less than a week. Although understanding and clarity were essential parts of the educational package, the message, to be truly effective, had to attract and interest all in a village: landowners, farmers, women, youth, elderly, workers. The following pages describe our attempts to enrich and enliven the package of new development concepts, information and insights. These pages also explain why we opted for using the team approach rather than having individual paraprofessionals do the village development education workshops on their own.

#### 4.7.1 Preparation of Village Workshops Talks

After a number of discussions among the trainees, villagers and myself, a consensus formed that three full days would be the outer limit village people could allow for a workshop. It meant that village people would be halting their daily work activities: food collecting, firewood gathering and related work patterns for three days. These activities would have to be prepared in the days previous to the workshop. Thus the first major constraint in adapting the Development Course for villagers became clear--the heart of the course had to be encapsulated within a three-day period.

Further, the information, knowledge and new way of thinking gained by the trainees during the previous two months had to be so packaged as to stimulate discussion. Dialogue and active villager participation, not passivity and resigned acceptance, had to be the dominant note during the three-day long workshops. Vital as the new insights were to villagers' understanding of the development process, the necessity of village people absorbing the new material through public discussion,



debate and consensus was far more important. Hence a compromise was made that the bulk of workshop time would emphasize small-group discussion and general debate with considerably less time given to lectures and formal talks. This resulted in the paraprofessionals confining themselves to six major talks of approximately fifty minutes at each village workshop. The bulk of the time during the three-day period, therefore, was given over to supervised small-group discussions, question periods and public sharing by all in the village. (See Appendix D for the Workshop Schedule.)

The most difficult work for the training paraprofessionals now began to take shape. Obviously none of them could explain in three days what had taken them two months to absorb. Part of the solution lay in forming two teams of five men apiece among the ten trainees (team formation is treated in the next section). The basic work of digesting two months of discussions, readings and study into six 50-minute talks to be given over a three day period stretched these trainees to their limits. During the last weeks of the course, the paraprofessionals intensified the process whereby each of them digested mountains of facts, information and data into interesting, clear and informative talks lasting no more than an hour. These talks were critiqued by the other trainees and myself. From the beginning of this process it was evident that there would have to be a division of labor. None of the men felt capable of mastering each of the six talks. I, therefore, mapped out six subject areas which would summarize the mimeographed notes and group discussions which occurred over the previous two months. Each trainee was obliged to become proficient in any two

of the six areas of concentration and be ready to do a third talk if the need arose. This procedure allowed each member of the team to practice two talks he felt most at home with. As it turned out, while each trainee was critically following fellow members' talks, he began to familiarize himself with the full range of all the talks. In fact, while listening to the other paraprofessional talks over and over during the village workshops, by the middle of the touring schedule, five of the ten men could give all six major talks. At the end of the village series each of the paraprofessionals had mastered at least four of the six formal talks.

#### 4.7.2 Village Development Education Workshops

The six areas of concentration which the newly-trained paraprofessionals focused on to form the core of their workshops talks to villagers were as follows: (See Appendix E which gives the titles and outlines of the talks.)

FIRST TALK (DN: pp. 209-212). This talk centered on the importance of the village-focused development education workshop and the fact that it was the first of its kind on Malaita and possibly in Solomon Islands. The first speaker made it clear that these workshops were designed to have villagers become more aware of the total development issue, and not to offer solutions to particular development problems.

To clarify this purpose the paraprofessional gave a broad definition of development (DN: p. 210) and slowly explained each part of it. Examples drawn from local experiences of village projects and other development schemes gave the definition bite, lifted the words

out of the realm of theory and placed the definition into the context of everyday life.

The first talk ended by illustrating how different people explained the meaning of development, how this affected island people in general and finished up with a brief hint of what to expect in the next talk-- the idea of total human development for all village people.

SECOND TALK (DN: pp. 214-216). The second workshop talk called for full development of people rather than a form of rural development which focused on things (coconut, cocoa, roads, livestock) in rural areas and not on people. This talk prepared villagers for the Development Wheel exercise which they would do later that same day (see Chapter VI). Each of the vital development areas of people's lives: their personal, material and social well-being, were explained separately. The point was made that each of these distinct areas of life should not be collapsed into one aspect of living such as economic well-being. These three major areas of a person's or a community's life are non-negotiable in the development of a people and cannot be substituted one for another or reduced to one part of living.

The paraprofessionals had initially experienced difficulty in understanding the structure-view of society. So too did the typical villager find this part of the workshop difficult. Numerous examples taken from the villager's daily life proved essential for this talk to have its proper impact. Time spent explaining this section paid dividends later on when structural rather than actor changes were advocated as a necessary step to transformational development.

THIRD TALK (DN: pp. 218-225) In this session the paraprofessionals came into the core area of development thinking--the social maps of the expatriate as well as island people, an area of knowledge which villagers needed to know and yet one which was quite foreign to them. European ways and thinking seemed to be well known to the listeners. They had seen and talked to a number of Europeans over the years. But it was vital to the success of each development education workshop that the villagers deepen their grasp of their own world-views and begin to appreciate how the expatriate's differed from their own. Civilizations view their worlds differently, not necessarily better or worse than one another, but decidedly differently.

The Western world-view and the islanders' experience of the world had a decided bearing on what each of these people understood as normal and natural to development. By addressing these unique understandings--that of the Westerner residing in Honiara and the villager at home--the paraprofessionals deepened village people's graps on how differently each party understood what was normal and natural when considering the development issue.

FOURTH TALK (DN: pp. 226-231) The paraprofessionals explained the effects of the expatriate development model in this talk. The development results have had a mixed return at best. The Western development model has brought about some positive results: general peacefulness, formal education, better health and economic growth can be documented in most villages. Life is secure, schools and clinics are established and wealth in the form of material goods is evident. It is good for village people to consciously recognize these blessings. Yet the

negative results of the Western development are also present, even if more difficult to quantify. This talk asked villagers to study their own surroundings--family, clan, village and district--for the negative effects of a development pattern which opted primarily for material growth and personal and social well-being only secondarily.

Once the people began to seriously study their lives and weigh the positives and negatives involved with everyday living, their desire to do something constructive about reducing the negative aspects became strong.

The paraprofessionals here made a plea that instituting permanent positive change rarely comes about by electing new politicians or simply choosing new leaders. No, these actor changes have to be backed by structural changes as well. An actor change in and of itself does not have the power and clout which structural overhauls like increased villager participation, local organizational efforts and area-wide cooperative efforts have for re-directing development towards favoring the village person.

FIFTH TALK (DN: pp. 232-239) The fourth and fifth talks of the series were closely related. Each talk featured examples of development action taken from other countries which stressed structural change. This talk continues where the Fourth Talk left off. The examples taken from other countries were intended to prompt the village listener to raise the question: "What are we as a community doing or going to do in development work that has some structural meaning?" The overseas examples offered a taste of the far-ranging options involved with using structural changes as a way of initiating long-lasting action favoring

village people. The intention here was not to provide a geography or history lesson but to expose villagers to the wealth of world experience which they might draw upon for their own development planning.

This talk, given on the afternoon of the second day, led naturally to the group exercise of the Village Quality of Life Index. A more detailed explanation of this exercise and its usefulness in village life may be found in Chapter VII. These development education workshops in villages were intended to do more than offer good advice and some appropriate suggestions. Their goal was to set a village to action: thoughtful, significant and responsible communal activity which would have immediate as well as medium and long term impacts on the daily lives of people.

A first and necessary step in that direction is for villagers to have a fair idea about their own situation. Where lay its strengths, weaknesses, resources? Does everyone in the village perceive the issues in much the same way? The Village Quality of Life Index (VQLI) offered a partial answer. It was a public exercise through which villagers assessed the quality of their own villages. It was the community's score card with which the people themselves were able to grade their own public life. The index assumed that if the public areas of life like sanitation, village cleanliness, communal concern for the sick, and local organizational efforts are being addressed, then that group of people had a high degree of communal cohesive strength. A village strengthening its VOLI score over a few years would show in a concrete way a development pattern favoring the quality of life for the many rather than a development model which favored a limited few.

SIXTH TALK (DN: pp. 241-249) The last formal talk of the series, which was given on the final morning of the three-day visit, focused on the most influential structural change that had occurred in 'Are'are history, Maasina Rule. Still very much in villagers consciousness and certainly alive in the memory of its oldest members, the same was re-told, but placed in a new setting. The speaker of the morning described the movement's structural-change implications such as its political organizational efforts, locally accented development schemes and attempts at unification of all island peoples. Particularly poignant was the fact that the speaker, Albert Alik, son of one of the founders of the movement, offered a personal reflection on his father's role in the movement. Special care was taken to show how Maasina Rule was at its core a structural change favoring village people rather than an actor change, simply a change in leadership.

Important areas of similarity between Maasina Rule and the present program of workshops were made explicit: both accented local organizational efforts, involvement of all people, village-oriented development schemes and the continued service of leaders to better the quality of life of village people.

The remainder of the sixth talk summarized the thrust of the workshop and integrated the previous five major talks, group exercises like the Development Wheel and the VOLI, and general discussions generated during the last three days. What was left to unfold was the villagers' practical response to the development issue. The rest of the final day was then given over to general discussions, open-ended dialogue with the paraprofessionals and myself.

#### 4.8 Team Approach

As stated previously (see Section 4.2) the trainees were intimidated by the idea of publicly addressing the people of their own village. What was even more frightening was having to publicly speak to one's own kin. Pati Waihaho, the oldest of the paraprofessionals, said: "I will speak in any village but my own. Do not ask me to speak in my home village." However, by combining individuals into teams the fear and trepidation felt in addressing the home village lost a good deal of its force.

The use of the team approach accomplished other goals as well. When one member of the group gave his prepared talk, other team members experienced ways of enhancing their own delivery. The team approach also helped establish a desire for accuracy by reminding all other members of the team to double check facts and figures used in their individual talks. It also helped build confidence among team members to attempt to master the full range of workshop talks rather than limit themselves to only two of the series. But more importantly the Mobile Team approach (as it came to be known) created a sense of solidarity and professional pride among members of the group. Villagers themselves sensed this group-spirit and professionalism as well. Rather than focusing their attention on an individual speaker, some of whom they had known as young children, the village people showed a deference and respect to team members much as they would display to trained teachers, catechists and Bigmen. With development work so difficult a task, the team approach seemed like a useful structure to work with.



The Mobile Teams consisted of two teams of five men apiece. Each individual was free to choose which team to belong to during each of the different development education workshops. Hence, team membership shifted week after week according to one's personal preferences, one's speaking ability, and the level of preparation one had mastered in the six major talks. During the first couple of workshops, when the para-professionals were busy establishing themselves, each man gave only the two talks he had practiced during the Development Course. Within a few weeks after the village workshops had started, however, a number of them branched out into more and more of the six talks. Once some of them had mastered all six talks, they enjoyed greater flexibility and could easily join up with either of the two Mobile Teams.

A week before each of the village workshops, the men firmed up which of them would be in what group. Members of each team would then choose a captain or leader of the group. The captain clarified who was to cover which talk, speak with village authorities on accommodations for team members, and examined, if necessary, the sites of the workshop talks and of the small-group discussions. During the workshop period the team captain conducted negotiations with villagers if unforeseen circumstances arose or if major changes in the workshop schedule had to be made. For instance, the village of Sisimato did not have a building or shaded open space large enough to accommodate the villagers for the meeting. Mr. Alfred Hairiu, leader of the Mobile Team at the time, worked out an arrangement whereby members of the audience each brought some kind of shade--an umbrella, a banana leaf, a coconut branch--and the whole group used the open sunny spot fronting the canoe house for the meeting place.

#### 4.8.1 Compensation

The paraprofessionals did not work for nothing. In past years in 'Are'are, especially during the Committee System period during the late 1960s and early 1970s, committee members were expected to do their respective jobs voluntarily (see Chapter III, section 3.6). At present voluntarism, at least in this type of work, is no longer acceptable. There is a strong feeling among villagers that unpaid work has less status than that which draws some kind of a salary. Salaries paid to my co-workers as trainees and later on as paraprofessionals were lower than what a locally trained teacher would receive for a comparable workload but higher than what a casual laborer of the area attracted.

From the beginning of the training period until the last village workshop these co-workers received monetary compensation. During the two month training period each received SI\$5.00 (US\$6.05) per weekend. While working as paraprofessionals in giving the workshops, each team member received SI\$10.00 (US\$12.10) per workshop. The salaries and transportation expenses during the training period as well as during the workshops were covered by research funds provided by East-West Center, Hawaii for that purpose. In all, the paraprofessional program cost over US\$2,000 in salaries and transportation during the eight month research period, from July 1980 to February 1981.

Besides the monetary compensation, the paraprofessionals were provided with lunch during their training period and meals when they conducted the village workshops. In fact at the end of each of the workshops, villagers prepared a feast--a traditional way of publicly acknowledging appreciation for a job well done. The village of Kopo,

for instance, roasted nineteen chickens, steamed pots of rice, root crops and vegetables, and offered fruit for a feast in honor of the visiting paraprofessional team.

While these paraprofessionals did succeed in extending a needed service to their own people, previously unserved by conventional development systems, it would be a mistake to assume that their services came cheaply or that this type of service is an easy solution to the problem of engaging rural communities in the development issues.

The use of the Mobile Team in 'Are'are villages was an effective way of initiating the paraprofessional program. The team approach to development education seemed to increase the paraprofessional's credibility in the eye of the villager and provided a source of strength to the individual team member. Paraprofessionals could be utilized in resource-poor situations, if they are provided assistance and continuing education as part of the overall package. Regular on-site visits by competent supervisors also should be part of a properly run program.

The following chapter describes the workshops more thoroughly and details how such supervision was carried out.

## CHAPTER V

### DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

#### 5.1 Development Education Workshops

The two-month training period for paraprofessionals described in Chapter IV was designed to prepare them to conduct village-level development education workshops. These paraprofessionals, described as Mobile Team members, planned, constructed and conducted these village-oriented workshops to enhance villager participation in the development process, inform and deepen their understanding of the issues involved and clarify for them the strengths and weaknesses they bring to the development debate.

In the first section of this chapter there is a description of the ten 'Are'are villages in which the Mobile Teams held the three-day Development Education Workshops. The following section explains the reasons for using villages as the sites for the workshop rather than conducting them elsewhere. The third section discusses the workshop itself: its major talks, the small-group discussions and the general meetings which immediately followed and which were designed to generate debate. All of these activities centered on priming public debate on the development issue. The final section of this chapter describes the place of visual aids, specifically the use of blackboard and chalk, and how these modest visual aids became a powerful instructional tool in the village-level development education workshops.

## 5.2 Participating Villages

Development Education Workshops were conducted in ten separate village sites over the two-month period of September and October 1980. All villages of this area of the 'Are'are tribe were invited to participate in the workshops. Only two villages refused our invitations, and even in these two cases many of the inhabitants attended the workshop in neighboring participating villages. A list of the villages, workshops dates and approximate adult population attending the sessions is given in Table 8.

All of the villages are coastal although one, Nareike-ara, is a mile or so from the coast. Tiny bush hamlets and smaller "saltwater" villages of the area which wished to participate in the workshops were asked to join with neighboring villages scheduled for the Mobile Team's visitation. Village populations of the Solomon Islands are not large--53 percent of them have less than twenty inhabitants--but by joining two or more villages together for a workshop, the Mobile Teams engaged an average of fifty-one people per three-day session. The largest gathering of people took place in Kiu where approximately ninety-four adults participated. The smallest attendance recorded was in the tiny village of Harumou where only twenty-one persons attended. The Mobile Team members and I worried a great deal about attracting the adult population of the village to the sessions, and having once attracted them, holding their interest for the entire three days. After all, the workshops were an entirely free enterprise: no villager was obliged to attend; no authority--neither chief, nor headman, nor catechist--commanded their presence; no reward was to be given for a

Table 8  
Villages Participating in Workshops

Village	Dates	Adult Participants
Aranimamu	Sept. 10-12, 1980	27
Pipisu	Sept. 10-12, 1980	41
A'arai	Sept. 17-19, 1980	23
Nariekeara	Sept. 17-19, 1980	83
Harumou	Sept. 24-26, 1980	21
Sisiomato	Sept. 24-26, 1980	47
Rutorea	Oct. 3-5, 1980	65
Hauraore*	Oct. 3-5, 1980	25
Marahu*	Oct. 3-5, 1980	46
Kopo	Oct. 10-12, 1980	63
Kiu*	Oct. 10-12, 1980	75
Wairaha*	Oct. 10-12, 1980	19
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\*Villages in which a single workshop was attended by neighboring villages (Marahu with Hauraore; Wairaha with Kiu).

perfect attendance record. We all felt villagers would certainly come to the beginning sessions, simply out of curiosity. But having once experienced the "product," they were entirely free to remain or leave according to their personal preferences.

During the training period I had predicted that the workshops would attract most village people the very first day--perhaps up to 85 percent of the adults in any one village. The second day, I felt, we would see

a significant drop in attendance, down to the 60 percent-70 percent level. Only the hard-core enthusiasts, perhaps up to 45 percent of the village adults, would attend all three days. Fortunately, I was mistaken. In each of the village workshops the Mobile Teams initially attracted more than 90 percent of the village adults. By the last day of the workshop only those villagers who physically could not attend were absent. Each village workshop began on a Thursday morning and ended late Saturday afternoon. These days were chosen to not conflict with Sunday religious observances and also to allow sufficient time for village workers to gather food, firewood and other essentials early in the same week.

Host villages had little difficulty in accommodating the Mobile Team members, me and visiting neighboring villagers for the three-day workshop. There seemed to be enough sleeping place for all visitors. Feeding the extra mouths was only slightly problematic. Normally one or two village families took turns feeding the team and me. Other visitors to the workshop, such as neighboring villagers, joined their relatives and were easily integrated into village society during the three-day sessions. On Saturday afternoon when the workshop ended each village prepared a mini-feast for the team members and the participants featuring fish, chicken, root crops, rice and even pig on one occasion. This was the community's way of publicly expressing its appreciation to the team for a job well done.

### 5.3 Community-Focus of Development

The usual response by central government (and often the churches as well) to particular rural problems such as low agricultural

productivity, or introduction of new cash crop opportunities, or addressing perceived leadership weaknesses has been largely twofold. First, certain individuals (usually men) were chosen for a specific "course," transported to a central training or educational center far from home, and after a short period of training, returned to the home village to begin teaching fellow villagers the newly acquired knowledge. The assumption fueling this procedure was that the "trained" individual would lead fellow villagers to adopt the new techniques. A second procedure was to "thoroughly" train extension officers such as agricultural extension personnel, catechists and medical people to do in-depth work with the people in a particular area. One assumption underlying the second procedure was that expert help would effectively draw villagers to the new ways.

But both types of programs have faltered because what was needed was not so much new knowledge as creating a new shared experience among members of the community. There is a reluctance on the part of the older members of any traditional society to accept and use new ideas and ways of looking at life. This reluctance to adopt new ways is understandable if one remembers that in a subsistence culture the old way means survival while the new way, if it fails, could mean starvation or village demoralization.

This does not mean that change is therefore impossible. But it does have a good deal to say about how innovations should be introduced. Keen, speaking of the Solomon Islands said as much: "This need to identify closely with one's group is of extreme importance in a strongly egalitarian society such as this one, where approval by the group is the



essential prerequisite to individual action" (1979:28). A new shared experience involving the whole community in a sense creates a new group. In the conventional method for effecting communal change, all those who did not attend the "course" rarely followed the new way. These individuals were in fact demonstrating their inability to act independently of the rest of the community.

The Development Education Workshops, however, were a conscious attempt to create a new shared experience, a way to bring an entire village community the experience of creating a new group. The Mobile Teams helped create a new group in the workshop by stretching fellow villagers' consciousness: they called upon village resources (food, shelter, supplies); they activated the village's human potential by exposing villagers to critical new ways of thinking and acting; and they used local expertise (the paraprofessionals themselves and the villager's other human resources). The workshops emphasized local contributions rather than outside-the-village help, and became influential object-lessons of new ways for villagers to perceive development.

A make-do attitude on the part of the Mobile Teams as well as villagers was evident. For instance, no village visited by the teams had buildings large enough to hold all the participants at one time. In fair weather, the great outdoors, usually under large shade trees, served as our meeting place. In rainy times, and there were many, church buildings, canoe houses or even large unfinished but roofed homes were pressed into service. These difficulties, rather than being a distraction to the task at hand, pressed both parties to deepen and strengthen their level of participation. These workshops became a

learning session not only for the few educated people in the village but a shared group experience for the whole community.

#### 5.4 Workshop Format

Just as the very physical arrangement of the workshop accented the need for creating a communally shared experience, we, the Mobile Teams and I, attempted to create a workshop format with similar guidelines in mind. Preaching participation without at the same time structuring the whole workshop format so as to enhance communal participation would have proved useless. To accomplish this goal each of the six major sessions of each workshop (see Chapter IV, section 4.4) was structured to encourage full villager participation.

##### 5.4.1 Workshop Schedule

The schedule which we drew up (see Appendix D) called for three full days of activity on the part of the villagers. Each of the six major talks was immediately followed by small-group discussions. These discussion periods were begun by each of the Mobile Team members who acted as group-facilitators repeating and summarizing the recently finished talk. Beginning with the third major talk--Development Views of Others--each of the small-groups reported back the gist of its own discussion to the main group. Usually the report-back system became a springboard for general discussion and debate among the villagers concerning local and national development issues.

In the evening of the first day of the workshop the village people re-grouped once again and scored themselves on the Development Wheel (see following chapter). On the second evening, to concretize the

Development Wheel in relation to everyday life, the Village Quality of Life Index was introduced (see Chapter VII). In this exercise, villages scored themselves according to the quality of their own village life.

The third day was similar to the previous two days except that the afternoon hours were left open-ended for prolonged public discussion. Since the last day fell on a Saturday, the public development debate closed down early in the afternoon to give the women time to dig for food and gather firewood, and to allow the Mobile Teams members to compare notes and critique their own presentations before returning to their home villages.

#### 5.4.2 Six Major Sessions

The entire village population--men, women, youth, even children and babies--was invited to participate in each and every session over the three-day period. Most of the normal village work routine of food gathering and wood collection as well as non-essential village preoccupations would be suspended or significantly reduced to essentials, since villagers had agreed to perform these necessary chores in the days preceding the workshop. Thus village people were not tied down to these obligations and were physically free to attend the sessions. The first day of the workshop offered three formal talks, two talks were scheduled for the second day, and a single one was presented on the final day. Each paraprofessional's talk lasted approximately fifty minutes and was immediately followed by the small-group sessions in which the other members of the Mobile Team repeated shorter versions of the same talk to each of their groups. The major purpose of the long formal talk was to present facts, information and

theory which the village people could use in the small-group discussions; also, the formal talk set out broad boundaries which helped focus participants' discussions.

From the very first session the Mobile Teams emphasized a broad approach to the development question rather than one with a narrow focus which would concentrate on specific development projects like the planting of a new cash crop or construction of piped water system for a village. The six talks both in form and substance accented the importance of villagers grasping the core of the development debate. Many villagers, however, had assumed that the workshop had been set up to inform them of a new type of project or a new way of getting project money. Slowly, as villagers began to experience the intensity of the workshop generated by the concentrated program of formal talks, small-group discussions and general public debates, they began to realize that these meetings were different from any they had experienced previously.

The first formal talk on the opening day of the three-day program was scheduled for 8:30 a.m. but rarely started on time. Team Members agreed that latecomers would be distracting to the rest of the audience, so the first speaker of the day would only begin when the Team was reasonably sure that all the villagers who had intended to come to the talk were indeed present. This stance paid off during the following sessions when most villagers made an extra effort to be on time. A Mobile Team member functioned as bellman to keep the workshop reasonably close to the published workshop schedule, copies of which had been posted in various parts of each village from the first day.

### 5.4.3 Small Group Sessions

An integral part of the whole workshop concept was the idea of having small-group sessions. Programmed to last one hour, the five Mobile Team members conducted these mini-groups. They would begin the small-group sessions by reviewing the main points of the recently finished talk. In general, the paraprofessionals sought to have villagers first clearly understand the meaning of the formal talk and then to generate discussion among the members of the small group.

It was important for villagers to experience alternative forms of public meetings. Normally, a villager encounters but one way of conducting public meetings: one or two speakers address a group for anything up to three hours. The speaker would then be followed by public discussion which often meant two or three village men dominating the proceedings. The small-group format, however, created another type of public discourse pattern rarely seen on the village level. The small-group discussion format allowed Mobile Teams to reduce large village groups (forty to fifty people) into four or five more manageable groups of eight to ten people apiece. Each of these small groups had a Mobile Team member acting as discussion facilitator. The small group operation produced a number of desired goals:

1. A group of eight to ten people sitting in and around a neighbor's house discussing important matters and led by a facilitator produced a social interaction that was personal, free, familiar and direct. The paraprofessional in such an atmosphere repeated in many different ways the basic message of the just-finished formal talk. His immediate eye-contact and his ability to clarify points seemingly not

grasped by some villagers the first time around made the small-group format a particularly effective communication tool.

2. Small-group discussions under these circumstances allowed all village members to join the dialogue. Some members of traditional 'Are'are society, women in particular, rarely discuss important village matters in public. However, this type of format, perceived as an informal gathering, encouraged women to share their insights and comments.

3. Another positive result of the small-group session was its ability to neutralize those villagers who habitually dominated discussions during public meetings. By breaking up the large public meeting into four or five smaller ones, those individuals who frequently dominated public discussions were physically unable to dominate the other small groups. This in turn gave the "silent majority," unaccustomed to public speaking, an opportunity to carry on the discourse.

The small-group sessions had their own peculiar problems, however. The informality and smallness of the groups tempted some group-members to carry discussions far beyond the scheduled time. Although warned in the beginning that the results of these discussions would be reported back to the rest of the village, it took a couple of sessions before this procedure was fully appreciated.

In the beginning moments of each small-group session the facilitator--that is, the paraprofessional--asked for volunteers to record the important subjects discussed by the group and be the person responsible for reporting the group's points to the rest of the village. Often,

however, the paraprofessional was forced to take the notes himself as well as lead the discussion. In spite of these difficulties, the small-group procedure effectively reached out to all members of the village, considerably reduced anxiety levels of those who rarely spoke in public and, most importantly, generated an atmosphere in which lively discussions flourished.

In a real sense, the small-group discussions became the heart of the Development Education Workshops. Without the personal, effective, familiar and direct contact between the paraprofessional and his audience, much of the workshop material would have sailed completely over the heads of many listeners. It had taken the paraprofessionals two months to grasp the transformational meaning of development. The three-day village sessions were meant to begin the process, a sort of first step in a long journey. It was essential that the villagers' first steps be firm, clear and headed in the proper direction. The small-group discussions followed this prescription. They also allowed for individuality: the paraprofessional geared his delivery and content to the educational level of his listeners. While each formal talk to the assembled villagers stressed the importance of understanding the large picture of the development issue, the small-group discussions concentrated on connecting the individual, the typical villager to the larger picture. These intimate groupings attempted to make the development question a personal, everyday affair in which each villager had a vital stake.

#### 5.4.4 General Discussion Meetings

The small-group discussions were only a part of the overall expansion/contraction cycle going on during the whole of the workshop. In the first part of the cycle, the formal talk which led off each of the six sessions, the paraprofessionals informed the entire assembled village about the general nature of the development issue; in the second part of the cycle, the contraction part, the small-group sessions nailed the development issues onto the individual villager's consciousness through dialogue, probing questions and repetition; and, the third phase of the cycle brought an expansion mode with the general discussion meetings in which each of the small-group participants reported back to the village at large their personal insights and observations.

In this third phase of the cycle, an expansion movement, the entire village re-assembled to listen as the small-groups reported back to the general assembly the core of their discussions and observations. The workshop idea was premised on the assumption that village-level dialogue was as essential to development as dialogue between villagers and outsiders. Often villagers gave greater deference to opinions, ideas and observations of strangers regarding their way of life than they would give to their own traditional leaders and local experts. The small-group and general discussion meetings helped validate home-grown development insights.

Several times during the workshop several small-group reports reflected similar findings. In the village of Kiu, for instance, three small groups reported that they felt that their village overemphasized buying foods like rice, bread and tinned meat and were not using enough



of their own garden produce. This shared perception sparked off a lively debate over whether Kiu was fast becoming a Malaita version of Taboko, the village of Guadalcanal which had rapidly entered a market-gardening economy and had, in the process, changed dramatically (DN: p. 232).

After an hour of small-group discussions the time keeper (using means at his disposal such as custom wooden drums, conch shells, or old gas cylinders) recalled the participants to the central meeting place. In the face-to-face relationships established in the small groups, there was a freedom to chew betel nut, smoke and allow children to climb all over the place. The full assembly, however, was a bit more formal in nature.

Each small-group's spokesperson had approximately ten to twelve minutes to summarize his/her group's one-hour discussion. Sometimes up to twenty minutes were taken by the reporter. However, this time overrun was easily made up by cutting short or omitting the scheduled half-hour breaks (see Appendix D for workshop schedule).

The reporting mechanism had an added attraction. It allowed younger members of village society to actively participate in a public meeting where they had been traditionally excluded. These local reporters were usually school boys or girls with the necessary writing and reporting skills which many traditional leaders lacked. By the fourth session, these youthful reporters proved themselves to be quite competent in their new function as secretaries.

If time allowed, the participants took a thirty minute break between the reports of the small-groups and the full discussion period. If not,

the full village discussion period began at once. Team members and I sat in on the discussions, which lasted two hours or so but more as spectators than as facilitators or discussants. Occasionally a question of clarification or matter of fact was called for, but usually the discussion points, which had been the focus of dialogue in the small-groups, once again took front stage in the full assembly.

To illustrate the sort of issues which arose, in at least three villages (Kiu, Sisiomato and Rutorea) some women felt that it was unfair for women to work as hard and as long as the men in feeding the pigs, making copra and brushing the coconut plantations but for the men alone to receive the money from these enterprises. The men's response of "that's our custom!", hardly answered women's plea for a more equitable solution. One of the paraprofessionals pointed out to the assembled groups that it was just such a response that urban dwellers might use when asked why so much national wealth has been absorbed by Honiara rather than going to the rural population. The debate which followed, like many during the three-day workshop, was not designed to produce concrete solutions to particular local problems. The ensuing discussions, however, did put everyone on notice that there were local development and social problems, and severe ones at that, which would not go away simply by citing traditional answers.

Returning the development debate to the full village presence after personalizing it in the small-group discussions underlines the essential communal nature of the development issue. Though each and every person was intimately touched by the development question, only a concerted, communal approach to it, we felt, could be effective. As mentioned

earlier (see Chapter I, section 1.2) a transformational development model accents a communal concern rather than an individual's reward, and yet it acts as an indispensable protection of the individual as well. A society like the 'Are'are has as one of its basic strengths its communal orientation. The general discussion meetings accented this strength by drawing the entire community into the debate and helping prepare a consensus where possible.

Yet the communal debate had its limitations. Those who traditionally were the "long talkers" again moved in to take up their accustomed place by dominating public discussion. Fortunately as the number of sessions grew, newer voices, not ordinarily heard in village debate, began to be heard.

## 5.5 Chalk Talks

The blackboard drawings which Mobile Team members used to illustrate core parts of their formal talks became important parts of presentations. At first the use of the blackboard as a visual aid inspired few in the audience. During the first two village workshops (Aranimamu and Pipisu), blackboard work was sketchy and unconvincing. However, in the hands of the Mobile Team's professional teachers (see Chapter IV, Section 4.3.1), a significant change took place. Rather than being a mere prop which the speaker used to scribble down a number or two, the blackboard illustrations grew to be potent visual aids bringing a new dimension to the formal talks. Immediately prior to his formal talk, each paraprofessional spent upwards of an hour preparing different scenes, tables of numbers, maps, etc.--all of which he referred to during the course of the talk. For instance, in the

last workshop in the village of Kiu on October 19, 1980, Albert Aliki filled a 25' x 5' blackboard with colored drawings depicting Mendana's sailing ships (first Europeans to visit the Solomon Islands, 1568), a street scene of Honiara's shops, a rural setting (a village scene, garden, copra making and cattle pasture), tables of numbers, graphs and maps. He used all of these drawings to illustrate different parts of the final talk of the series--villages becoming a community as a way toward healthy development. What had at the beginning of the lecture series been only a minor aspect of each of the major talks grew to be an essential component of each talk. A few minutes of hasty preparation were no longer sufficient to activate the full potential impact of this visual aid.

Without doubt the member's improved use of the blackboard enhanced both the content and style of the paraprofessionals' talks. These chalk pictures not only helped rivet villagers' attention, but more importantly, the charts, tables, graphs, pictures and maps allowed for better communication and audience understanding. Frequently when a speaker felt that a particular point had not been fully grasped, it was a simple procedure to refer back to an appropriate illustration to clear up the misunderstanding, or to make a potent comparison, or, at times, even to allow a minute of silent reflection to reign while audience members absorbed new information. Indeed, after the sessions, listeners would frequently button-hole team members and use a blackboard illustration as an example for opening remarks to continue the dialogue.

## 5.6 Summary

The village development education workshops sought to bring the typical village man and woman into a participatory role in thinking about development in Solomon Islands. The physical difficulties encountered by the paraprofessionals when conducting a village-site workshop such as lack of proper facilities and the ordinary distractions of village living were more than offset by the benefits flowing from conducting the workshop on a home-village base. Villagers who ordinarily would not have conceived of themselves as an appropriate subject of any kind of workshop could not ignore a home-village meeting lasting three days.

The most important fruit of the workshops, however, was their ability to create a new shared experience for the village people. Fundamentally new knowledge had been shared, discussed and accepted by the village communities. If this same shared experience had been generated away from ordinary village life, attempts to implement and even to discuss new ideas would have been frustrated by those who had not attended the same sessions. The workshop, conducted by people of the village, helped villagers to realize a new dimension of development which they had rarely experienced before. Development became something close to the whole village population and no longer something done far away by strangers to their way of life.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE DEVELOPMENT WHEEL

#### 6.1 Enhancing Village Participation

To be successful, the Development Education Workshop had to accent active villager participation. The major talks given by the paraprofessionals, the small-group discussions and the general-meeting debates all focused on creating an atmosphere in which villagers would dialogue among themselves as well as with the Mobile Team members concerning development issues. The Development Education Workshop's success, therefore, depended upon sustained active villager participation during the course of the workshop. A major goal the paraprofessionals had set themselves was to create ways to enhance this active villager response. Simply achieving respectful silence during the formal talks sessions would not suffice. My co-workers sought out ways to begin, and once begun, to sustain vigorous villager debate and dialogue in order to indicate whether or not their development message was indeed getting through.

To enhance this dialogical process, the paraprofessionals and I created two group-exercises, the Development Wheel and the Village Quality of Life Index (VQLI), with which village people could study their development situation from a new angle. These exercises would allow villagers to unpack the complex, multi-dimensional concept of development through interaction among themselves and members of the Mobile Team.

The development issue is multi-layered and many-faceted. If development is recognized in terms of a strong emphasis on personal, local and thereby also national self-reliance, and is seen in terms of a multi-dimensional concept that is both human development and social development, then these two communal exercises, the Development Wheel and the VQLI, could be useful tools in generating a communal and personal self-awareness. These exercises, which enabled the village groups to score themselves, carried participation to a level which could not be achieved by public discussion alone. These exercises enriched the participants by supplying them with tools with which they could, as a group, study and tackle village problems from a new perspective.

In the first section of this chapter I describe the origins of the Development Wheel. The Village Quality of Life Index exercise is treated in the following chapter. The second section of this chapter explains the conceptual basis of the wheel. The following section relates how the paraprofessionals used the wheel during the workshops and describes the results. The final section summarizes the use of the Development Wheel in a development education process.

## 6.2 Origins of the Development Wheel

I am particularly grateful to Johan Galtung whose work, The True Worlds, was influential in the formation of the Development Wheel. He elaborated upon a number of key concepts such as security, identity and equality. These were incorporated on the spokes of the wheel. Other concepts, especially those concerned with material well-being such as landownership, money, transportation and communication were identified through protracted discussions between the paraprofessionals and me

during the two-month training course. These discussions produced a sketchy and vague version of the Wheel (see DN: p. 217). The very first Development Wheel's practice picture was drawn by each of the trainees on July 12, 1980. Each of the ten trainees used his own village as an example and rated his village according to the eighteen development-related concepts. During the following weeks' training period we clarified the meaning of the exercise, expanded the definitions of each of the spokes and in general strengthened this communal scoring exercise. The second version of the wheel was ready for the beginning of the village development education workshops on September 10, 1980 (Figure 4).

The idea of placing the eighteen closely related development concepts in wheel form was inspired by Wahidal Haque's use of the sociogram (1977:7). He used a sociogram--a diagram designed to indicate from answers to socio-metric questions how people in a group feel toward each other. This diagram tracked different development criteria such as people's attitudes and economic benefits onto one composite picture which could help development workers visualize how different development dimensions interacted with each other. He used the sociograms to evaluate on-going rural development projects and to help design better development projects for village life in India.

We, the paraprofessionals and I, thought that by combining the development concepts accented by Galtung with Haque's sociogram we could produce a unified picture of the different dimensions of the development issue. We felt that the village person would be assisted in grasping and remembering the inter-relatedness of the many aspects of development by



marking their communal perceptions of their own village on the wheel. They then would be able to perceive their village development situation in a new way.

### 6.3 Conceptual Basis

A common development strategy for Third World nations is that material growth must come first, before a nation, or a village, or a person can achieve meaningful well-being, as suggested by the preoccupation with national economic growth figures. During the workshops the paraprofessionals asked villagers to understand the development issue as something concerned with the whole of life, not simply as something to do with economics. The Development Wheel's approach is that if all three dimensions--personal well-being, material well-being and social well-being--are not improving together, then there really is little progress for the nation, the village or the per.

The three major sections of the Development Wheel: being power (personal well-being), having power (material well-being) and community power (social well-being) reflect a wholistic development posture. Each person in society is made up of being (personal traits), having (possessions) and position or place in the structure of society. The whole of society is made up of people whose person, possessions and position are part of the development context. Each of these dimensions is vital and none of them can be relegated to a secondary level or collapsed into one overall category like economic well-being.

Villagers working to get themselves more and more money are likely to find personal rivalries growing and communal values breaking down. With the use of the Development Wheel exercise, villagers could begin

to visualize the consequences of scoring high in one area of life while having low scores in the others. The development picture which a village draws of itself by using the wheel becomes a powerful reminder of how far they are from their goals, where their strengths and weaknesses lie and most importantly, they can perceive the necessity of having all three areas of life cared for simultaneously, not disjointedly.

A wheel figure assumes that both the person and society are essential elements of a true development model. Some development workers think that the individual is the center of development while others emphasize the communal aspect. The wheel figure (Figure 4) suggests that these developmental poles are but two sides of the same reality: persons-in-community and a community-of-persons. Together, as in the wheel, they make up one great human reality and they need to challenge, question and interpret each other for mutual well being. When both these development poles of concern experience the fullness of well being, both the village and the villager are truly developing.

There is also a political message inherent in the use of the wheel. Some development difficulties for rural communities stem from decisions made by outsiders for village people, like local projects funded and directed by strangers. A village group, understanding its weaknesses and strengths (made evident by using the wheel exercise as a tool for communal self-awareness) could begin shifting decision-making from outside the community to within it. The shift would favor village people and lessen the power of others over their lives. A community which openly discusses issues vital to its life and attempts to shape

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL

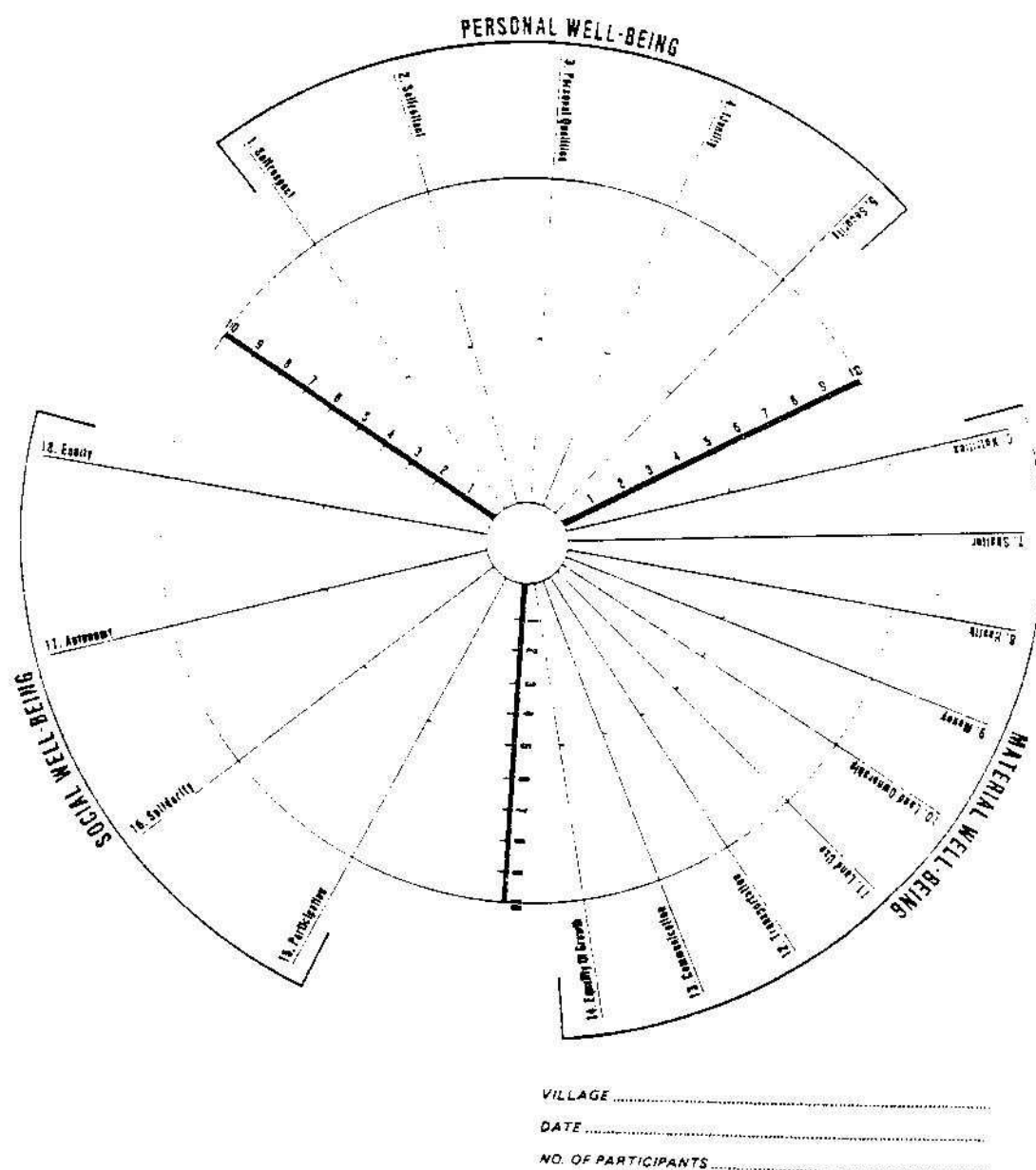


Figure 4. Development Wheel

these forces strengthens itself. For power flows directly from the integrated growth of personal, material and social development.

A major aim of the Development Wheel exercise is to help villagers achieve a holistic view of development. It intends to show how human development (the steady satisfaction of the needs of body, mind and spirit) and social development (the man-made environment that should go with human development are intimately connected. The various tensions of human and social development should be integrated into a single vision. The wheel figure attempts to create a single vision which would be understandable in a village context.

#### 6.4 Use of Wheel

The Wheel exercise took place on the evening of the first day of the village workshop. The second formal talk in the morning of that same day, on "Different Parts of Development and Their Mutual Growth," introduced the villagers to the concept of development as a multi-dimensional, many-faceted reality. This was a difficult idea to explain in a single formal talk and few of the paraprofessionals readily volunteered to give this particular talk. The evening exercise of the Development Wheel repeated the same basic material of the formal morning talk with the hope that a completely new format would help village people see the interrelatedness among personal, material and social well-being and the full meaning of development. The morning session called for involvement limited to listening, questioning and debating the issue. The evening exercise allowed for greater communal participation--villagers discussed, evaluated and ranked themselves on the wheel in a communal exercise.

Once again, as in the morning's formal talk session, the whole village was divided into two or three equal sized but mixed groups of men and women, young and old, educated and uneducated. Each small group was led by a paraprofessional who acted as facilitator explaining the rules of the exercise, clarifying each of the concepts as the need arose and generally acting as secretary to the group. Each small group received an unmarked copy of the Development Wheel with each of the eighteen different spokes marked with the name of a particular concept (see Appendix B for an example). After explaining the whole exercise in general, the paraprofessional would then go into finer detail on each of the concepts starting with the self-respect concept. When the paraprofessional felt his small group had understood what self-respect meant, he would ask his listeners to rate their own village on a score from one (poor) to ten (good).

After a few minutes debate among the small-group, the co-worker asked each of his listeners individually how each would score the village on that particular concept. All the individual scores would then be added up and averaged out. If, for instance, the group's average score was a six, then that spoke of the wheel was marked where the number six would be. Each of the eighteen development concepts were so covered. At the end of the exercise (it took approximately one and a half hours to complete), each of the dots on each spoke was joined to the other by a straight line to see how close the group's line came to the rim of the wheel. When each of the other small groups had completed its work on the exercise, scores were combined to give a village-wide picture view of how people of that particular village viewed their own development status.

## 6.5 Results

When the results of the village's wheel were publicly shown, usually immediately after the end of the exercise, village people had a good feel for what their village development status was.

A number of things became apparent because of the exercise. Each village's wheel-drawing had many sharp edges and was far from being a round smooth affair (see Appendix F for village wheel drawings of the twelve participating villages). Without exception, the communal sector marked by villagers scored consistently lower than the material and personal well-being sectors. Although many villagers, over the years, had claimed their lack of money as a major obstacle to village improvement, they scored themselves relatively high on this spoke of the wheel. The paraprofessionals would point out this anomaly to the re-assembled villagers during the review process which immediately followed the exercise. A number of village people conceded that perhaps their supposed lack of money was not as serious an obstacle to development as had been thought.

Each village drew a different vision of itself. These village-development drawings gave each village group a profile of its own stage of development. The wheel-picture allowed communities to visualize where their strengths lay, as well as point up their obvious weaknesses. For instance, Narikeara scored itself well along the material growth sector but its social sector score was one of the lowest of the villages which participated in the workshops (see Narikeara's Development Wheel drawing in Appendix F).

The real importance of the exercise was not in the specific scores, however. The communal involvement in the scoring process itself had opened up the whole development issue to public debate. The numbers and figures which emerged from the debate were helpful, but more importantly the communal involvement in the process meant that the villagers had participated in a public discussion on the meaning of development. The discussions were formed in the village context but they embraced national issues as well. Important aspects of personal, material and social well-being involved in development had been discussed, and villagers had arrived at a rough consensus on the idea that development transcends economic issues. Development was no longer left entirely in the hands of planners, bureaucrats and politicians. Villagers themselves had deepened their participation in the development process.

There were, of course, limitations and difficulties inherent in the use of the Development Wheel. The eighteen concepts used should not all necessarily carry the same weight in the development debate: participation, equality of growth and self-reliance may be of more significance than, say, the necessity of owning land or transportation. Yet each concept, according to the wheel, was treated as being of equal importance. The object of the exercise, however, was not to give a definite answer to what constituted development but to allow the community to review, debate and ultimately to begin to grasp the various elements inherent in the development issue. Using the wheel figure was a way of showing that the different dimensions of development form more a pattern of varied elements than a single line rising to meet

the future. A full accounting of what human and social development is means integrating these various tensions of life into a single vision. If development theory is to be adequate to these many aspects of human existence, then it must balance these inevitable and creative contrasts.

## 6.6 Summary

The learning experience of the adult is different from that of the child. A mature Solomon Islander brings years of experience, expertise and a world-view to any learning situation. A child in a classroom is inexperienced with little knowledge or the necessary skills to cope with life and thereby may be well served by the typical teacher/pupil relationship. The adult, however, is better served by learning processes which stress the mutual learning of both the change-agent and the villager. Development education is especially enhanced by those techniques which accent dialogue through which both parties to the educational moment are open to change.

Through the Development Wheel exercise both the paraprofessionals and villagers experienced growth, and each enhanced the learning experience of the other. Rather than limiting the villagers at the workshop to the passive role of listeners, the Development Wheel exercise made it possible for village people as a group to judge their own state of development and to share the results of these judgments with the paraprofessionals. The villagers' collective judgment on their development status, clarified through the exercise, was seen to contain both negative and positive elements. The Development Wheel exercise results, therefore, could become a vehicle of growth for both the village people and the paraprofessionals.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE VILLAGE QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX

#### 7.1 Practicing Development Theory

An important part of the village workshops was to lift development theory out of the realm of the abstract and find a place for it in everyday village life. Limiting villagers' participation at the workshop to thinking, discussing and debating about development theory but doing little about putting it into practice would not serve rural people well. There was a real danger that the villagers, at the end of the workshop, could be left with little more to show than three days of talk.

A different type of danger was also inherent to the workshop. The villagers, in the enthusiasm generated by the workshop, might advocate work, any kind of work, so long as it was hard work. That development stance would be just as much in error as one limited to discussing theory. A typical villager knows a great deal about work, although not the nine to five variety of his urban cousin. Village work periods do not follow an urban job pattern, but hard, physical, exhausting labor--walking to distant garden lands, preparing, weeding and harvesting and carrying, storing and preparing foods--are but a few of the everyday chores most rural Solomon Islanders know a great deal about and ones which occupy much of their waking hours.

A major goal of the workshops, then, was to strike a balance between development theory and practice. The idea of the workshop was to take some of the development theory which had been the subject of

prolonged debate during the course of the workshop, and see if it could be implemented in a village context.

The second evening of the workshop focused on the villagers assessing the quality of their own village life. The Development Wheel on the previous evening had been used to ask village people to review village life from a development point of view and to deepen their understanding of how different development dimensions were affecting village living. The wheel exercise emphasized the intellectual framework and understanding of the development issue while the Village Quality of Life Index focused on those practical, everyday actions which could lead to development. The Index exercise was conceived as a practical response to the repeatedly asked question of what a village should do to begin development. The Development Wheel spoke about relationships between people, about political and economic well-being coming through personal, material and social growth. The Index, on the other hand, focused attention on ways and means to begin development action in one's own village.

In the first section of this chapter I give the background of the index. The following section deals with its theoretical framework. The next two sections recount how the Index was used in the village workshops and report some of the results achieved from its use. The final section is a summary of the Village Quality of Life Index's impact on village people.

## 7.2 Background to the Index

Scientists have created different ways of measuring how one country is better or worse, richer or poorer than another. The gross national

product (GNP)--money value of all goods and services produced in a country in the course of a year--has been one of the most influential ways of measuring one country's development compared to another. When the population figures of a country are included in the calculations, the GNP can measure how well or poorly a country is doing over the years. But these figures present an ambiguous reading of development since they are unable to tell whether the goods of a nation are equitably distributed; they are unable to measure such things as happiness, justice, security, freedom or leisure; they are unable to measure changes such as improvement in social harmony, life expectancy, and health conditions which make a country a better place to live.

Another way of assessing countries has been developed, called the Physical Quality of Life Index, formulated by Morris D. Morris to measure the condition of the world's poor. This index, on which nations are scored from 0 to 100, is calculated by combining their scores in three important fields of welfare:

- a) infant mortality up to year 1
- b) life expectancy at 1 year
- c) adult literacy--percentage of adults who can read

No country, no matter how rich or powerful, can score high if the majority of its people are poor, cannot read or die young. Infant mortality, for example, is an indicator of clean water supply, good sanitation and good mother/child nutrition, which in turn are influenced by poverty and the position of women in society.

However, within individual nations, especially poor, small-population countries where vital statistics are hard to come by, Morris'

Index is less useful. Some other measuring devices are called for. Individual communities need to have a way of measuring their quality of life from one year to another. The Village Quality of Life Index is devised for this purpose. Although patterned on Morris's work, it is designed to help villagers assess their own everyday lives.

The object of the VQLI exercise was not to prove that one village was better than another but to create a new pair of lenses by which villagers could study their own surroundings. For example, this index assumes that if the public areas of village life are cared for, then the people of that village already possess a high degree of cooperation. However, if the public areas are broken down, not cared for, then it is fair to say that villagers' relationships are in poor shape as well. In other words, a clean, well-kept village with organizational strengths is not only a sign of a healthy (developed) village but more importantly it is a sign that the village is on the road to becoming a community--a group of people living and working as one. The distinctive difference between this index and Morris's PQLI, then, is that the VQLI gets at the quality of relationships among people. The PQLI can be assessed for unconnected people. The VQLI, however, has little meaning for people who are not in some sort of sustained relationship with each other.

### 7.3 Conceptual Basis of the Index

The VQLI was intended to help villagers measure the quality of their lives by using indicators which the people themselves could readily verify and at the same time the indicators were closely connected with village health, organizational efforts and its basic

economy. The index takes for granted that there is a close connection between sufficient clean drinking water, dry village surroundings, organizational efforts and adequate kitchen facilities with quality living. Therefore the index asked villagers to pay special attention to those aspects of village life which have a fairly direct bearing on a clean, dry village (system of drains, organizational efforts dedicated to this task, and possessing the necessary tools--shovels, picks, and digging bars). On the other hand, we felt no need to measure those items which have little or no connection with quality of village life like the number of wrist watches, football shoes, radios and sewing machines within a village. Individual items listed under the specific sections like drains, rubbish removal, clothing, tools, etc. selected through hours of discussions among the trainees and myself. We arrived at the final listing of individual items much the same way we went about constructing the Development Wheel. Each of the items finally chosen came from the trainees actual village-life experiences and our judgment of how well an item indicates of the quality of village life, and how well a typical village dweller could identify the item as improving the quality of village living.

The Village Quality of Life Index (see Figure 5) is divided into three main sections:

- Adult Well-being
- Child Well-being
- Political and Economic Well-being

Each of these main sections are themselves subdivided into two levels:

---

VILLAGE: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

---

VILLAGE LEVEL HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

---

ADULT WELL-BEING

-drains	(20)...		-housing	(40) ...	
-rubbish	(20)...		-kitchen	(30) ...	
-sanitation	(30)...	= ...	-personal goods	(30)	= ... ..
-water supply	(30)...				

---

CHILD WELL-BEING

-transportation	(30)...		-mosquito net	(10) ...	
-medical box	(10)...		-first aid aid box	(10) ...	= ... ..
			-bedding	(10) ...	
			-clothing	(10) ...	
			-plates	(10) ...	
			-torch/lamp	(10) ...	

---

POLITICAL & ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

-organization	(40)...		-knives & axes	(10) ...	
-tools	(20)...		-fishing & hunting gear	(10) ...	= ... ..
-radio	(10)...		-personal tools	(10) ...	

---

Score: . . . . . 3) ...

No. of Participants . . . . .

---

Figure 5. VQLI--Village Quality of Life Index

- Village Level
- Household Level

The village level dimensions focus on those areas of daily life which should be a concern of everyone living in the village--drains, rubbish removal, sanitation control--while the household level accents items under the direct control of families--one's home, kitchen, household goods like mosquito nets, bush knives for gardening and fishing gear. Examination of the village and the household levels are necessary since some village households could well boast of having adequate housing and cooking utensils, but live in a village which is dirty, muddy and lacking adequate sanitation. Unless both dimensions, the village level and the household level, are studied as a unity the goal of raising the quality of village life could never be reached.

The Adult Well-being section of the index concentrates on those items which, if properly cared for, offer a direct return to adults in the form of better living conditions. Village adults themselves have almost complete control over the items in question.

The Child Well-being section, although under the direct control of village adults, focuses attention on the village's most vulnerable sector, its very young. The children have little control over the specific items in question like the purchase of mosquito nets and cups. The assumption here is that extra efforts both in terms of a centrally-controlled medical box and the purchase of material goods should be considered to insure village children's continued good health and sustenance.

The last major section, the Political and Economic Well-being part, accents socio-economic factors which have positive impacts upon the overall village's well-being. The political and economic section reflected the workshop's concern that genuine development connects the personal, material, socio-politico-economic spheres of village life into a unified whole.

A major goal of the workshop was to sensitize villagers to the fact that much of their world is within their personal and collective power to improve. Bettering one's village living conditions depends far more on their own efforts (village organizational strength, communal work, mobilization of local resources) than on what others (central government, provincial assemblies, area councils) could do for them. The index became a useful tool with which the paraprofessionals could demonstrate to villagers ways whereby an individual family's quality of life could be bettered and at the same time strengthen communal bonds. A village could become a stronger community and the individual person or household's well-being could be enhanced, for instance, if the group realized that the public areas of its life still remained within its jurisdiction and within its power to improve.

The VQLI can also be understood as an intellectual tool for helping communal projects: village X has drainage problems while village Y has a difficulty with lack of water. Each village has a different set of priorities which must be addressed by its respective organizations. If the Index were scored, say every six months, it could act as an evaluation tool of how well (or poorly) a village which is trying to strengthen its development work is doing. In other words, the index



might become a tool for improving self-awareness at the communal level. A village score on the VQLI is in itself a useless number: What could be important is the process that goes into a village doing an evaluation of itself and the uses made of the results of the evaluation.

#### 7.4 Use of the Index

As in the Development Wheel exercise, the village community was divided into smaller units, each with its paraprofessional leader. A general introduction to the meaning of the index exercise preceded the small-group's scoring. Each part of the index was explained point-by-point (it took about an hour and a half to complete the exercise), and each member of the small-group scored each of the items.

The weights attached to each item, such as 10 points for drains, 15 points for water supply and 5 points for animals were in a sense arbitrary. The weights of each item, like the numbers generated by this exercise, were but a suggestion of what kind of importance one area of village life has over another.

Each person's score on each item was written down by the Mobile Team facilitator and then the total was divided by the number of people who were scoring the item to obtain the average score. When all small groups had finished the entire exercise the Mobile Team members had made a composite score which was immediately shown to the whole village. Villagers were encouraged to pay less attention to the numbers generated than to the discussions and dialogue which the exercise stimulated.

Our index was intended to be an example which individual villages could use as a basis for a home-grown one of their own. The paraprofessionals urged village groups to construct indexes of their own.

What items would they consider important? How would they distribute the weights? And how would they evaluate their own village? Village groups could use such an index as an instrument of program development and evaluation.

### 7.5 Results

At the end of the exercise, when small groups assembled with their index assessment, a composite village score was produced. Upon knowing their score villagers would immediately begin discussing the meaning of the exercise and its worth for their own village's development. Once villagers knew their overall score many participants wasted no time comparing themselves with what neighboring village populations had achieved. Village groups were anxious to see where they stood in relation to the other villages of the area. The actual index scores of the twelve participating villages are found in Table 9.

On the whole, village people seemed to score themselves fairly; they were neither overgenerous nor overly negative. In fact the range of village scores from a high of 69 to a low of 43 reflected what the paraprofessionals thought the village groups would score themselves.

The exercise accomplished its primary goals of sparking off public discussion concerning the practical meaning of development. The index concretized the Development Wheel. Keeping drains cleaned, removing rubbish, ridding the village scene of serious health risks, and having clean, strong homes are ideas which are easily understood and, more importantly, are well within a community's powers. Development could no longer be conceived as being exclusively connected with money, large projects and events at a distance, usually in the capital city. The

Table 9  
Individual Village Scores  
Village Quality of Life Index

		Villages*											
		I*	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
<u>ADULT WELL-BEING</u>		43.0	67.5	44.5	57.0	46.5	54.5	55.5	55.0	25.5	76.5	48.0	42.0
VILLAGE	HOUSEHOLD												
-drains		0.0	10.0	7.0	10.0	12.5	10.5	8.5	2.0	3.0	10.0	7.0	10.0
	-housing	30.0	32.5	20.0	30.0	27.5	26.0	31.0	30.0	10.0	35.0	20.0	20.0
-rubbish		10.0	11.5	10.0	10.0	8.0	8.5	6.5	5.0	4.0	7.0	5.0	9.0
	-kitchen	10.0	18.5	15.0	15.0	12.5	14.0	17.0	20.0	12.0	23.0	10.0	10.0
-sanitation		15.0	15.0	10.0	12.0	10.0	15.0	9.0	3.0	4.0	21.0	1.0	10.0
	-per goods	20.0	15.0	15.0	12.0	15.0	17.5	14.0	22.0	8.0	27.0	23.0	10.0
-water supply		0.0	30.0	10.0	25.0	7.5	18.5	25.0	28.0	10.0	30.0	30.0	15.0
<u>CHILD WELL-BEING</u>		32.0	62.5	43.0	52.0	43.5	55.0	69.0	64.0	36.0	86.0	70.0	63.0
-transportation		5.0	22.0	11.5	25.0	15.0	17.5	27.5	27.0	9.0	30.0	10.0	15.0
	-mosquito net	5.0	3.0	2.5	3.0	0.5	4.0	5.5	5.0	2.0	7.0	8.0	6.0
	-medicine box	0.0	5.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	3.5	5.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	9.0	6.0
	-bedding	5.0	8.5	6.5	5.0	5.0	6.5	7.0	5.0	3.0	8.0	6.0	8.0
	-clothing	5.0	7.5	8.5	7.0	5.0	5.5	8.5	7.0	6.0	10.0	9.0	10.0
	-plates	7.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	5.5	7.5	6.0	6.0	5.0	9.0	8.0	9.0
	-torch/lamp	5.0	9.0	5.5	6.0	10.0	8.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	9.0
-medical box		0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	0.0

Table 9 (continued) Individual Village Scores, Village Quality of Life Index

		Villages*											
		I*	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
POL. & ECO. WELL-BEING		45.0	62.5	30.0	31.0	65.0	61.5	65.5	88.0	52.0	74.0	58.0	65.0
-organization		20.0	22.5	6.0	10.0	25.0	28.5	20.0	30.0	21.0	40.0	20.0	20.0
-tools	-knives/axe	10.0	9.5	7.5	8.0	10.0	9.5	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
	-fishing & hunting gear	0.0	3.5	1.0	0.0	5.0	9.5	10.0	18.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	10.0
-radio		5.0	9.5	7.0	5.0	9.0	5.5	8.0	10.0	5.0	10.0	8.0	10.0
	-per tools	5.0	10.0	4.5	5.0	10.0	4.0	10.0	10.0	8.0	6.0	10.0	10.0
		5.0	8.0	4.0	3.0	6.4	4.0	7.5	10.0	5.0	8.0	10.0	5.0
TOTAL		40.0	64.1	39.1	46.6	51.6	57.0	63.3	69.0	37.8	78.8	58.6	56.6

- \*I Aranimanu
- II Pipisu
- III Nareikeara
- IV Alarai
- V Sisimoto
- VI Harumou
- VII Rutorea
- VIII Marahu
- IX Hauraore
- X Kopo
- XI Kiu
- XII Wairaha

Table 10  
Composite Score of 'Are'are Villages

VQLI--VILLAGE QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX									
VILLAGE LEVEL					HOUSEHOLD LEVEL				
<u>ADULT WELL-BEING</u>									
-drains	(20)	9.09			-housing	(40)	26.06		
-rubbish	(20)	8.40			-kitchen	(30)	15.50		
-sanitation	(30)		= 46.67		-personal			= 59.40	2 106.07
		11.18			goods	(30)	17.84		52.03
-water supply	(30)	18							
<u>CHILD WELL-BEING</u>									
-transportation	(30)	18.93			-mosquito net	(10)	4.34		
-medical box	(10)	2.96			-first aid box	(10)		= 36.45	58.33
					-bedding	(10)	6.05		
					-clothing	(10)	7.50		
					-plates	(10)	7.25		
					-torch/lamp	(10)	8.21		

Table 10 (continued) Composite of 'Are'are Villages

VQLI--VILLAGE QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX							
				VILLAGE: 12 Villages in West 'Are'are			
				DATE: September 11 to October 17, 1980			
VILLAGE LEVEL			HOUSEHOLD LEVEL				
<u>POLITICAL &amp; ECONOMIC WELL-BEING</u>							
-organization	(40)	21.62	-knives & axes	(10)	9.34		
-tools	(20)	2.03	-fishing &				
-radio	(10)	8.21	hunting gear	(10)	7.93	= 23.73	60.59
			-personal tools	(10)	6.46		
						3)	170.95
							56.98
SCORE:		56.98					
NO. OF PARTICIPANTS:		515					

index exercise reinforced the idea that development is basically a home issue and that villagers could readily perceive whether they were headed in a proper direction or sliding away from their goals.

Some of these public discussions, however, made it clear to the paraprofessionals, village leaders and me how deeply ingrained in villagers' thinking was the idea that development fundamentally meant getting more and more wealth. So long as the workshop's discussions and debates remained on the talk level and did not get into the practical areas of life then the development issue remained cloudy. But once the Index was taken seriously--villagers actually concentrating their development energies into improving everyday village living--then the primacy of money as the development goal was weakened. Some village people tried to link both goals. Nareikeara, for instance, asked if a village really began to work to improve its index score, would government pay them for their efforts. The paraprofessionals responded by citing the case of a doctor treating sick patients he does not pay the sick to take his medicine. Still some village people persisted in the belief that development and payment should be intimately connected.

#### 7.6 Summary

The paraprofessionals and I were convinced that the index was a practical way to begin carrying out the insights and aspirations generated by the village development education workshops. Although development could never be actualized simply by following the slogan "Hard Work!" (a favorite by-word of local politicians and planners), neither could development theory ever be separated from actually doing

hard work. The index's strength lay in its focusing a people's work-patterns where the work-results would be immediately felt by the workers, the villagers themselves. The Village Quality of Life Index was an exercise which translated development theory into practical, workable, everyday actions. The index exercise focused villagers' work patterns: it brought communal insights to bear upon the familiar, the ordinary and the near at hand. Development was an internal struggle both on a personal level as well as on the collective one; it had as much to do with village life as it had to do with the economic dimensions of village living such as planting cash crops, making roads and operating trading stores and ships.

The Development Wheel of the previous evening had attempted to place in one picture many of the vital dimensions necessary for an integrated development of a people. The index introduced villagers to a similar concept of development, one which was close to their everyday village living. A community's assessment of its own village surroundings and its response to this assessment could become the first step on a successful development journey of many years.



## CHAPTER VIII

### EFFECTS OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

What significant changes resulted in the villages of West 'Are'are which could be traced to the influence of the village development education workshops? Were there any perceptible results felt in the wider community of the Solomon Islands because of the program?

In this chapter I describe the effects of the program on three separate parties who were closely involved in the workshop program: the paraprofessionals who conducted the workshops, the villages who participated, and myself. After that I detail how these workshops affected institutions, including the Central Government, the Malaita Provincial authorities and some non-government agencies.

Many of the development results which I recount in this chapter come from my own observations while present in the islands, as well as from correspondence with the paraprofessionals undertaken when I returned to Hawaii for a time. Other sources of information include written reports and the information sheet, VQLI News, both of which were authored by the paraprofessionals.

#### 8.1 Effects on Paraprofessionals

Probably the greatest effect of the program was felt by the paraprofessionals themselves. The two-month development course powerfully affected their thinking concerning the nature of the development issue and its meaning for village living. Over the years, Pati Waihaho, a former agricultural extension officer and catechist of long-standing,

had attended numerous training sessions, seminars and workshops touching upon the subject of development. He echoed the sentiments of many of the trainees when he stated "This development course is the best training I have ever received. It has made me think about development in a new way" (Personal Notes, p. 177).

The use of a team approach for conducting the workshop and the actual practice of the village workshops greatly influenced the paraprofessionals' transformation. Development was now better understood as an on-going, multi-faceted reality encompassing and influencing the major dimensions of life: the cultural, social, spiritual and economic aspects. They could no longer accept one element--economics--as adequately explaining the meaning of development. Without the complete package containing the three parts--the training course, the team approach and the actual conducting of the workshops--transformation probably would not have occurred.

The carrying out of the workshops allowed the paraprofessionals to internalize and make the two-month training course their own. Their classroom learning permitted a latitude of expression and social ease among themselves. This luxury, however, did not exist among the villagers who were facing serious development issues and were anxiously looking for workable solutions. The traditional give and take of village life dominated the social interaction during the workshop period. The paraprofessionals were constantly being tested: villagers demanded clear presentations of the paraprofessional's newly acquired knowledge; they forced team members to elaborate on the significance, relevance and importance of the new development material; and they required them to

publicly defend their positions against the prevailing development wisdom.

Much of the classroom training, note taking and discussions of the two-month development course took on new life when confronted by real live villagers who were determined to test these novices. Glib answers, pat phrases and over-generalizations proved to be unacceptable to village audiences. Either team members would address real problems of actual people and thereby capture a responsive audience or villagers would surely drift away. Fortunately, in each of the ten workshops the team members seemed to touch people, to speak to their real problems and to encounter villagers at a depth that was something new and alive for all concerned. This encounter of villager with paraprofessional produced a personal transformation of the change-agent as much as it touched the lives of the villagers.

This transformation of the Mobile Team members became evident in their continued involvement, as members of Mobile Teams and, on an individual basis, with village communities over the following years. After the initial village workshops, some of the paraprofessionals continue to work in teams. With the advent of the Solomon Islands Development Trust, which is explained in Chapter IX, a number of them have continued their commitment up to this writing.

Evidence of the paraprofessionals' dedication was provided by their organizational efforts in behalf of the villagers of the area.

During the period of the workshops it became clear both to the paraprofessionals and to many villagers that the district itself lacked organizational strength. Rather than resurrecting the defunct District

Committee system the paraprofessionals inaugurated a new organization for "development matters as outlined in the Development Conference talks" (R/RC Papers, May, 1981:1). On December 6, 1980, the Mobile Team members, on their own initiative (I also attended the meeting), called for a general meeting of village people of West 'Are'are to discuss ways to continue the work that had been begun by the development education workshops. Only thirty villagers attended this initial meeting, a poor turn-out. However, those in attendance unanimously decided that a new local organization, to be called the Resource/Research Council (R/RC), should take over the functions and the duties of the old District Committee. The new organization's name was adopted from its two major functions which were described in the meeting's report:

Resource: the organization will be available to villagers to explain and again and again the meaning of total development, e.g., as in the Development Education workshops.

Research: it will search for ways to make real development more and more practical to the daily lives of villagers. (R/RC Papers, Dec. 1980:1)

The R/RC's organizational concern focused on finding ways of informing local villagers about development happenings in nearby villages. It was not uncommon for villagers to know more about development happenings on other islands, through the transistor radio, than about development efforts in their own neighborhood. The R/RC executive began a simple news sheet, the VQLI News, which consisted of a typed, mimeograph sheet carrying local development items. The first chairman of the Resource/-Research Council, Mr. Pio Uinihona, acted as reporter, editor and publisher of the news sheet. It featured items such as individual village development reports, communal work programs,

and schedules of development education tours by the Mobile Teams and R/RC executive. Although only five issues of the VQLI News appeared up to January 1982, the effort to get development information out to the village people was well received. In fact the first question asked at the second R/RC's General Meeting held on May 22, 1981, concerned the status of the news sheet. The R/RC chairman admitted that there was "lots of news to be printed, but because Father (Fr. Leppen who allowed his mimeograph to be used for printing the news sheet) is at Honiara, printing therefore (is) very impossible" (R/RC Papers, May, 1981:2).

A further sign of the paraprofessionals' transformation in relation to the development issue came with their continuing team involvement in development workshops around the district. Two other areas of the 'Are'are tribe, the Tarapaina people of East 'Are'are and some Rokera villagers on Small Mala, asked the Mobile Teams to visit their areas to conduct development education workshops. In late November 1980, both Mobile Teams and I visited these areas to conduct two three-day workshops similar in many respects to those given in West 'Are'are. During these workshops the participants became enthusiastic and asked if some of their own representatives could attend a full two-month course like the original training period. This request was impossible to fulfill because of time and financial constraints, but a shortened version of the training course--an intensive one week affair--was arranged for the first week of the new year, January 4-10, 1981.

During that week the ten paraprofessionals and I teamed up to conduct a shortened version of the original training course for a group

of thirty-seven participants coming from other parts of the 'Are'are area. To help defray costs each of the participants was required to pay a \$3.00 tuition fee. The money partially covered the costs of new sets of mimeograph notes, writing material, food and kerosene for the new trainees. In spite of such a relatively high fee, each of the participants (one being the sitting Member of Parliament, Hon. Alfred Aihunu) made his or her full contribution. Two women also joined the course.

We hoped that these new "converts" would return to their own villages and, with the help of the original team members, conduct similar development education workshops for the villages of their own areas. This indeed happened.

On January 31, 1981, three of the original paraprofessionals and five new trainees walked over the central Malaita mountains (for thirteen hours over two days) to arrive at a group of the East coast 'Are'are villages. There they conducted a three-day workshop in which 140 people from nine villages attended (VQLI News, Feb. 1981:1). A major outcome of the workshop was the paraprofessionals helping the villagers in "setting up their own Resource/Research Council to cover the district from Masupa to Oluburi" (VQLI News, Feb., 1981:2).

New development conferences as well as other types of meetings continued during the whole of 1981. For example, in March a two-man team (Serapino Enimato and John Kanai) revisited a number of the villages which had participated in the original workshops in order to deepen the villagers' understanding of development. Nine of the original paraprofessionals met in May, 1981, with the other members of the R/RC to conduct a General Meeting in which they discussed and

voted upon different development proposals for the area (R/RC Papers, May, 1981:1-6). Four former team members reformed into a new Mobile Team to tour a group of eight villages during the month of November "to find out what something (work) according to our Dev. Conference in 1980 is still going on" (Personal Correspondence, 1981:2). This same group called a meeting at Harumou village in December 1981. They gathered there to share the development progress of their respective villages (Personal Correspondence, 1981:2-3).

A number of the original team members undertook distinct development works with their own village. All of these personal efforts as well as the team work explained above were without monetary compensation. Apparently, these men were convinced that the development of insights they shared with villagers in the workshops had begun to address local development concerns.

As individuals they continued to work for the same goals. For instance, Alfred Hairiu helped his village of Nareikeara experience the meaning of the VQLI for bettering village life. A communal discussion centering on the requirements of the VQLI was immediately followed by a clean-up group. This time the "school kids cleaned the area during the VQLI week" to give the villagers an example of what development could mean (VQLI News, Jan. 1981:1).

Harumou village, through the combined efforts of S. Enimato and J. Kanai, became a center of practical research which featured the use of local timber resources in a new way. Each of these men became the head of a research unit looking for ways to use the local material in a more productive way. Their first effort led to the construction of



a village church which used locally processed timber for walling--the first walling of its kind in the area (VQLI News, 1981:1).

Albert Hauhere, another member of the first teams, decided to enter politics after the development training and workshop experiences. He was successful and became a Malaita Provincial Assemblyman for West 'Are'are. He was chosen to be Minister of Finance and also part of a provincial group which is actively preparing a provincial village development policy. One element of this policy is to have the development education workshops become a model for the whole of the Malaita Province and have them implemented in the near future (Personal Correspondence, Jan. 1982:2). These were indeed carried out in 1984 and 1985 by the Mobile Teams of the Solomon Islands Development Trust (see Chapter IX).

## 8.2 Effects on Villagers

A major goal envisaged for the development education workshop was to positively affect village life. Has this really occurred? What have been the results of these workshops on village life? Village responses have been varied and as dramatic and obvious as those experienced by the paraprofessionals. These responses can be classified under three headings: organizational efforts, village work programs and continuing effects.

### 8.2.1 Organizational Efforts

It came as no surprise either to the Mobile Teams or to the villagers themselves that most communities suffered many forms of organizational weakness. A number of team talks (see Chapter V, section 5.4.3) emphasized the need for village-level organizations which were



capable of addressing local development problems. Individual persons or families on their own could not normally tackle village-wide problems and issues. A major section of the VGLI underscored the need for local structures wherein villagers could study, plan, and implement village work programs aimed at bettering the quality of village life. Also, the demonstration effect of the recently inaugurated Resource/Research Council for the whole of the area became a powerful inducement for others to come up with similar village-level organizations.

A number of villages which had participated in the workshops began to strengthen their own organizational efforts. The village of Kopo in early January, 1981, became the first community to elect "people (who) are considered the executive body of (the) community" (VQLI News, Jan. 1981:1). By the end of February of the same year most villagers of the area were already recognized to have established some kind of formal structure which spoke with authority concerning village development affairs.

By the end of 1981 there was a revival of the end-of-the-year meeting pattern established in 'Are'are from 1968 through 1975. In Harumou on December 6, 1981, a group of village delegates conducted a development conference. During this meeting village representatives shared with their listeners the actual development accomplishments of their villages and their plans for the new year. Rather than having a whole year go by before meeting again, however, these same delegates pledged to meet more often during the coming year.

### 8.2.2 Village Work Programs

The development education workshops were not designed only for talk, meetings and future planning for development; actual improvement of daily village life was a major theme running through the entire village workshop series. Organizational efforts, for instance, centered upon actual village improvements. This procedure gave the newly established community organizational structures something concrete and practical to work on. Hence some observable improvement of village life should be an evident part of the village scene if the development workshops had had any positive effect, and this has been the case.

Before the village development education workshops began only a handful of village persons made a positive connection between living in a clean, healthy and vibrant community and what was thought to be development. In fact, since cleaning drains, disposing of rubbish and planning for a healthy and safe village required the inhabitants' time and energy, such work patterns could be labeled a distraction from the real business of development--making money. After villager participation in the workshop, however, a different perception of what development means appeared. There was a noticeable effort to view quality of village life as a major part of a total development package. Working towards improving the quality of village life, then, became an integral part of village planning and implementation. To illustrate:

In Kopo villagers organized themselves into work details to complete a 350 meter stone path which went from the village outskirts through a difficult swampy area (which made night travel dangerous) to the river (VQLI News, March, 1982:2).

This project had been a topic of village talk for years, but the organizational and implementation efforts to bring it off successfully never materialized.

In the Tarapaina district in East 'Are'are the villagers decided upon a six-week development plan which integrated family-level development plans, improving the quality of village life and economic projects like cocoa and coconut plantings. The second week of the plan focused on "maintenace of the village buildings, sanitation and village minor projects" (Tarapaina Report, 1981:1-4).

The village development reports read at the General Meeting of December 6, 1981, gave prominent place to village cleaning, brushing back of the forest line from the homes, cleaning drains as well as the more standard economic development projects like copra, cattle and village stores. (Personal Correspondence, 1981:2).

The Village Quality of Life Index idea has become a powerful symbol, a part of the local tongue, for local development efforts. The R/RC's general conference on May 16, 1981, passed a resolution recognizing the worth and usefulness of the VQLI concept for development. One major function of the R/RC's Chairman is to give "VQLI lessons in the villages." (R/RC Papers, May, 1981:4)

The concept of improving village life through villagers' efforts now seems to be an integral part of development consciousness. This attitude did not prevail during the 1968-1975 period when the Committee System was at work. Village development was spelled out to some degree by the leaders of that time: "better houses, cleaner arrears and removing all places of disease" ('Are'are Committee Meeting, Dec. 1970: 1). But its effect upon village life was slight. Economic development continued to dominate the Committee's proceedings. For example, in the report of the fifth annual General Committee meeting in 1972 there was only a passing mention of any development consideration save those of an economic nature ('Are'are Committee Meeting, Dec. 1972:1). Now,

since the development education workshops, a strong connection between quality of life issues and development has been established in the minds of leaders and of many village people.

### 8.2.3 Continuing Impacts of Workshops

The development education workshops continue to influence the planning of other village activities as well. The Mobile Teams are constantly requested to return to villages for updating workshops. Other villagers who have only hearsay information about the workshop program ask to be included in any new workshop schedule. Although the original program ended in late 1980, many village development plans for 1982 and later still emphasize a commitment to continue on this same road of village-focused development. The village representatives which met at Harumou in December 1981, for instance, went on record to say they wished to study, plan and work according to the guidelines generated by the workshops of 1980 (Personal Correspondence, 1981:3).

Economic projects no longer are the only theme in village development planning, quality of life issues now hold a recognized place in their lives. The VQLI ideal has given villagers a tool whereby they can measure progress towards an acceptable form of village development. What seems more important for villagers, however, is the acceptance that development has a time-frame attached to it. No particular project, no technique or sum of money magically produces development. The village workshop with its group exercises are of themselves insufficient to bring about fundamental change to the village sector. The workshop is but a first step and demands follow-up, systematic working at development to insure acceptable progress.

Harumou People's Centre. Some villages have actively cooperated in creating new structures which could guard, enhance and extend the village-level development begun in the workshops. One of the most visible and powerful structures has been the work inaugurated at the village of Harumou, scene of the fifth development education workshop (September 24-26, 1980).

Over the following years the villagers around Harumou area have become convinced of the necessity of taking development work into their own hands. To this end they have accomplished a number of works in conjunction with the Solomon Islands Development Trust (SIDT) (see Chapter IX).

1. More than a dozen villages of the area constructed a large meeting hall (a leaf building, 60' by 40') over a period of four months September 1983 to January 1984. This building functioned as a training/learning center for the area and was called Harumou People's Centre.
2. In conjunction with the Department of Agriculture, Solomon Islands Development Trust, other private organizations (Volunteer Service Abroad) more than a dozen separate courses, seminars and workshops have been held at the Centre.
3. The Harumou People's Centre Committee has held two cultural festivals in which more than two thousand people attended and hundreds of artists performed

traditional 'Are'are musical and other cultural forms: drum, panpipes, custom dance and others.

4. The Centre functions as the home-base for the Trust's Mobile Team members, its Field Officer and the overseas volunteers in its village outreach program.
5. The Centre has been the site of village-level research efforts: smokeless stoves, latrines, up-raised fireplaces and enhanced kitchens, home gardens and other technologies suitable for improving the quality of village life.
6. A special program for women, the Women Involvement Program, has taken root in the Centre. This program, focusing on women's issues, is spearheaded by a trained team of women who conduct the program.

Cultural, economic, organizational and personal development have become part of the everyday life of the Harumou People's Centre. Inter-village cooperation brought about by the construction of the Centre buildings was firmly strengthened by the two cultural festivals held in December 1983 and September 1985. This cooperation is constantly enhanced by the SIDT Mobile Teams conducting development education workshops. New programs, creative planning for the future and dedicated personnel, some of whom are the original paraprofessionals (J. Kanai, A. Hairiu, S. Enimato, A. Hauhere) and other newer members, indicate that the village development education workshops had a significant effect on the lives of the villages and villagers of the area.

### 8.3 Personal Experience

The whole training program, with its training aspect, the village-level development education workshops and the response of villagers deepened what was previously but a strong personal hunch--the village as core to Solomon Islands development efforts. This whole experience gave me an experiential certitude of the worth, effectiveness and strength of the use of Mobile Teams in reaching out to village people. Moreover, it reinforced my leanings that the development issue was, at its core, a spiritual journey.

Like so many expatriates who have lived in the Solomon Islands, my urban bias, city background and experiences tended to dominate my thinking. It is difficult to shed one's formative influences, especially those which are almost core to one's being. Having been born, lived and educated in New York City it indelibly marked my thinking processes and actions. When I first came to this nation of villages in 1958, I accepted the villages as but temporary stations which would slowly fade away. Over the years of visiting and living in them, however, I came to see that most villages had special strengths. There was close, familiar and personal daily contacts; the villages were the sites where traditions and customs were most vividly practiced; and, there the person and nature worked most closely in harmony. The whole enterprise with its preparatory work, village outreach program and healthy villager response reinforced my conviction of the fundamental worth of the village sector to the life-blood of the country. These experiences have become the source of SIDT's conviction: "If the village is strong, the Solomon Islands will be strong."

I had already lived in the Solomon Islands for more than twenty years when I began to use the Mobile Team concept. Over these years I had begun to realize that the secret of reaching out to many lay in "training the trainers" concept. Many authors whether in religious or social science circles stressed the need of multiplying one's effectiveness by the use of trained local personnel. In my first years on a mission station it was clear that locally trained classroom teachers could and did do a credible job of teaching. However, I was slow to take up and use the same concept and apply it to the many villagers who were scattered over the countryside and residing in many villages. The training of ten 'Are'are men to tour, conduct and supervise the village development education workshops gave me a fundamental experience. The outsider, I feel, does have a place in these islands, but it should be centered around the idea that the people themselves are the best teachers of their own people. My place, I am convinced, is to suggest ways and means whereby islanders are culturally, historically and spiritually more atuned with the people than I am, can best reach out to them.

The spiritual side of the development issue came to me in various ways. Part of the strength of the village lies in its closeness to the spirit world which permeates the being and living of the ordinary villager. As stated in Chapter III, the spirits of their recent dead and their ancestors are always with them, they are like the "wind of the earth," always there. In First World development thinking and practice, however, economics is not only primary but there is an almost universal agreement that the development issue is the antithesis of anything to do with the spirit. Not so with 'Are'are villagers.



The cultural side of 'Are'are means much more than dance, panpipe, drum and custom music. These cultural expressions are special ways in which the villagers keep atuned to the reality of the spirit world which they feel is just as real and palpable as our physical world of driving a car, doing business or going to work. During the two Cultural Festivals held at Harumou in 1983 and 1985, it became clear to me that the development issue and the cultural reality were closely intertwined. Although the development education workshops stressed the need to understand the development issue, one of the major aspects which the 'Are'are felt was important was its cultural dimension. One of the greatest fears of the people, especially the older members of the tribe, is the fear of losing their customs. As stated before, this fear is not to be confused with their forgetting a particular way of cooking, dancing or musical expression. But it has much to say about how they relate to their forebears and to their recently deceased relatives and how these in turn relate to the land in which the living now reside. Development which would forgo this dimension would be unacceptable to most 'Are'are people.

Development is not an individual matter but a collective adventure which somehow includes the dead as well as the living. Although the Development process takes place in the social, economic and political spheres of life, it does not stop there but includes the whole human situation. Solidarity and continuity with custom and traditions and their full meaning is imperative for a transformation development to root within these people.

## 8.4 Institutional Responses

Although the development education workshop program focused primarily on the problems and issues of village people, other parties in the Solomon Islands grew interested in the idea and its implications. Central Government, Malaita Province Assembly and some non-government groups recognized the carrying out of this type of program and the village response to it as somehow addressing concerns of their own.

### 8.4.1 Central Government

Central Government had become increasingly concerned with the need to reach out to the Solomon Islands villagers to include them in the nation's development plans (see Chapter VI, section 6.1.3). The 1980 draft version of the National Development Plan recognized government's deficiencies in this area and asserted its determination to do something about them:

The relatively rapid economic growth of the past years has mainly benefitted those who live near to, or could travel to, the places where investment, services and job opportunities were created. In NDP 1980-1984, the highest priority is given to improving access to the benefit of economic growth. (1980:12)

Later on in the same document, a program of adult education was envisaged as one of the appropriate strategies for carrying out the plan's priorities: "This programme of adult education would be based on setting up rural training centres for adults in which would be based one or more mobile teams which spend most of their time in the villages in a particular area" (1980:14). The recently finished 'Are'are development education village workshops seemed to be just what was asked for by the National Development Plan. The Central Planning Office (CPO)

which was engaged in rewriting the NDP at this time, asked me to join their office for a three month tour of duty--January to April 1981. My work-brief consisted in drawing up ways of interesting and engaging villagers in the national goals for rural development. I was asked, also, to make recommendations on how government could best implement its rural development strategies.

In a series of three papers written for the CPO, I suggested a number of closely related steps aimed at improving government's rural strategies. In the first paper, "Strengthening Rural Development Structures," I argued that if "rural development is the national issue of the '80s, SIG (Solomon Islands Government) must itself be institutionally able to respond to this national priority" (1981:1). In a word, I was calling for, among other things, an appropriate ministry with sufficient clout to bring about the desired rural transformation. The second paper, "Provincial Investment/Village Response," fleshes out the basic recommendation of rural structural improvements. A village-based development plan calls for more than a national acceptance of an idea; such a development stance demands government investment in the lives of the villagers. Government-sponsored investments would start out on a modest scale and "build upon successful track-records of villagers" as in indispensable way for village-focused development to begin (1981:9).

The third paper, "The Place of the Village in the Development Process," summarized the previous two papers and explained the 'Are'are development education workshop series. This paper was presented to senior government officials in a seminar on April 24, 1981, the three

hour long seminar provided me an opportunity to explain the meaning of the development education workshops to senior public servants most involved with working out government's rural strategies. The local newspaper, Solomon Islands News Drum, had this to say concerning the seminar:

Mr. Philip Solida Funifak acting permanent secretary of the Ministry of Law and Information spoke for many when he said: "When I received the invitation to attend the seminar I debated in myself whether to attend or not because I thought here is another outsider telling me what to do. But when I received and read the paper on which the talk was based, I see a lot of sense in it--a thrust to balance the already imbalance situation within the country. (News Drum, May 2, 1981: 5).

Over the past few years then, government has become more aware of the need for community education at the village level. Although the churches and non-government training programs have traditionally reached out to the rural population, the government is becoming to realize its own unique place in communal education patterns. The recently issued National Development Plan 1985-1989 recognizes this when it states that one of its community education strategies would be to "generate awareness in rural areas through national and provincial community education workshops and seminars (National Development Plan, 1985:52).

#### 8.4.2 Provincial Assembly

The most heartening response to the development education workshop strategy, however, came from the members of the Malaita Provincial Assembly. On March 6, 1981 I was asked to address the full Malaita Assembly concerning the recently conducted village development education

series. Their reaction to my talk was immediately positive, "Could I conduct the same kind of workshop for all the Malaita villages?" This request was impossible to fulfill for a number of reasons, not the least being my lack of time. However, I did promise to submit a project proposal which would ask for funding to implement the workshop idea for all Malaita villagers.

The project proposal was indeed submitted to the international Human Assistance Program, which later was notified that funding for the proposal had been granted by U.S. Agency for International Aid (AID) (Personal Correspondence, Jan. 1982:1). Although the Malaita Province Assembly lost thirty-one members out of forty-one in the elections of June 25, 1981 (a 78 percent turnover) the new Assembly members were as eager as the former ones to have me conduct the workshop series as soon as possible (Personal Correspondence, 1982:2). Indeed the workshops are being carried out by the Solomon Islands Development Trust's Mobile Teams (see Chapter IX for a fuller description).

#### 8.4.3 Non-Government Groups

Other groups interested in the development education program included the International Human Assistance Program (IHAP), Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP) and the United States Peace Corps in the Solomon Islands. Each of these organizations has had close ties to the village sector and was interested in the development education workshop idea and its implementation. For example, the Peace Corps asked me to do their 1982 volunteer training program emphasizing the village-development approach. I conducted this training for thirteen Peace Corps volunteers during the months of July-September

1982. As mentioned above, IHAP was instrumental in submitting the Malaita Province village-outreach project proposal for overseas funding. The project was implemented not only on Malaita but in all other provinces of the country. As explained in the following chapter, FSP asked me to initiate and direct that organization. In the following chapter I detail the strategy of how the trust uses this development education workshop formula in its village outreach program.

### 8.5 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, I asked "What results, if any, were achieved by the development education workshops?" The responses, like the very concept of development used throughout the study, have been many sided.

Certainly the men who trained as paraprofessionals felt the greatest effect. On a personal level they continue to show a deep involvement. Their continued presence at workshops, village visits and development planning with villagers is ample proof of their commitment. As a group, some of these paraprofessionals have further committed themselves to transformational development by establishing an organization, the Resource/Research Council immediately after the workshops were conducted. This council works out of the Harumou People's Centre organizational structure.

Village response to the program varied. The awareness they gained of their own organizational disarray led many to establish village-level organizations and to support inter-village organizations, both of which address the issue of their organizational weakness. Village groups

have also established work programs which focus some of their development energies on quality of life issues as well as on economic projects.

But the most lasting and on-going work has been the strong village response to the construction of the Harumou People's Centre, continued participation in its village outreach programs of courses, visits and workshops and, the cultural outpouring in the two arts festivals organized and held at the Centre. The Harumou People's Centre is bringing together the work of the paraprofessionals, the villager's participation and the enhancing of both parties.

My own experience with the outreach program has been one of personal growth. My urban bias was surfaced, the potential for work with trained local people was clarified and the spiritual dimension of the development process became clearer for me.

Even outside the village sector there have been positive responses. Government agencies both on the national and the provincial level have been keenly interested in the development program and its outcome.

## CHAPTER IX

### SOLOMON ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT TRUST

The work of sharing the transformational perspective concerning development is now being carried out by a new local organization called the Solomon Islands Development Trust (SIDT). In this chapter the background of the founding of the trust, its plans for bringing development understanding to rural people, villages, and its methodology in reaching out to the villagers are presented in the first part. The second part of the chapter describes the effects this program is beginning to have on the villagers and its impact on the Solomonese development scene in general.

#### 9.1 Trust Background

Winds of change in the South Pacific began to blow in earnest during the years of the 1970s. A number of nation-states achieved their independence during this era: Fiji (1970), Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomon Islands (1978), Kiribati (1979) and Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides, 1980). But political independence was only one of the many fundamental changes that took place. In the field of development thinking and action there occurred major shifts of emphasis as well.

Over the years a number of non-government development agencies from the metropolitan countries had established their offices in Pacific Island territories. The Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP) operated programs in New Hebrides, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Fiji. The International Human Assistance Program (IHAP)



also had offices in several Pacific Island nations. But as the different island countries began to experience independent governmental structures they voiced their need to be independent on the issue of development thinking and action as well. Several countries desired to have their own non-governmental bodies to help clarify development priorities. They wanted these local development bodies to be strategically placed to receive resources from overseas and from locally generated funds, and to distribute these resources to the village sector.

In October, 1980, fourteen senior Pacific Island leaders from eight nations joined fourteen European delegates from eight nations and the European Economic Community in a week of profound and probing discussions on the whole spectrum of development aid as it relates to the North and South Pacific peoples. The Lincoln Consultation held at the Lincoln House in England made it clear that the participants preferred aid to be directed to local non-government bodies rather than go through another nation's development agency. It recommended "that overseas NGOs assist and support local Pacific NGOs in accord with their Pacific philosophy of development" (Report on the Lincoln Consultation, 1980: 53). Francis Bugotu, Solomon Islands roving Ambassador, voiced these same sentiments when he stated:

The Pacific nations hoped the spirit of the Brandt Commission would govern aid to them. They wanted to be treated as equals, to determine their own priorities, not to receive aid which increases dependence, rather the contrary. No Pacific nation wanted to sell its independence in the market place. In a word Pacific nations wanted aid which made them free of aid, despite their small resources. (Lincoln Consultation, 1980:41)

The Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP), which had been working in the South Pacific since 1965 was one of the first metropolitan development agencies to recognize the necessity of establishing local development bodies. In 1979, after consultation with local leaders--Rev. Walter Lini, Prime Minister of Vanuatu and Rev. Sethy Regenvanu--FSP helped found the Nasonal Komuniti Development Trust (NKDT) of Vanuatu. This body was commissioned to actively pursue local development goals, accept overseas aid and assistance and, in general, be a force for the clarification of village level development priorities and project implementation. A New York based development agency, Private Agencies Collaborating Together (PACT), funded NKDT for its first three years of operations. Early in 1980 a number of Solomon Islands political leaders--David Kausimae, Willie Betu and Peter Kenilorea--were asked by FSP personnel to form a Solomon Islands trust along the lines of the one recently inaugurated in Vanuatu. In May 1980, when I returned to do my research for this dissertation, FSP also asked me to hold a number of public meetings aimed at exploring the possibilities for the nation's having its own locally controlled development body.

It was only in April 1982, however, that sufficient funding was secured to establish SIDT. PACT, the organization that had sponsored the Vanuatu Trust, agreed to finance the Solomon Islands Trust, also for a period of three years.

During the months between the initiation of the idea of a local trust in early 1980 and the securing of the necessary funding to enable it to function in March 1982, a Board of Trustees was selected. FSP's

country director for Solomons, Baden Prince, acted as interim secretary for the public meetings held to select a Board of Trustees. From the very beginning of the public discussions, it was unanimously agreed that trustees of the board should represent a cross section of Solomonese society and also be outside of any elected political office. The original three members, all of whom were leading politicians of the time, were therefore asked to step down from their board memberships. The three parliamentarians understood the wisdom of such a request and accepted the decision immediately.

During the many preliminary meetings discussing trustee membership it was decided that rather than choosing individuals to hold positions on the board, major Solomonese institutions or important national bodies should be nominated. These national bodies would then select persons within their own institutions to be members of the Board of Trustees. The following are the first board members and the institutions which they represented:

Solomon Islands Christian Association	Francis Labu
National Provident Fund	Reuben Moli
Young Women's Christian Association	Margarite Maezama
Development Bank of Solomon Islands	Joseph Maelaua
Central Government Representative	Daniel Sande
Rural Representative	Fr. John Gereia

Once the Board had been constituted and funding had been secured, FSP approached the board members to propose they employ me as Technical Adviser. Since I was known personally to a number of Trustees who were also interested in my village-focused development efforts, they formally requested FSP to ask me to come on board as Technical Adviser.

On May 6, 1982 I returned to Solomon Islands to take up the newly created post of Technical Adviser to the trust. My responsibilities would be to begin the process of establishing the trust as a functioning entity, training personnel and in general shepherding the new organization during its early years of existence. One of my first official acts upon returning to the country was to meet with the board members and suggest a development education workshop in which the trustees and I could discuss, argue over and debate the development issue within a Solomonese context.

On July 26, the workshop participants--the trustees and I--studied the varied meanings development had taken in the Solomons over the years, and the present villagers' understanding of the meaning of development emphasized in earlier workshops. Having done that, we spelled out in broad outline what we meant by development, and the place of the trust in this process. This group-study became an important step for this newly-formed organization. Members of the workshop produced a position paper--Statement of Resolve--which became the trust's fundamental pronouncement on development (see Appendix G). The document stated that development efforts of the past had too often failed to live up to their obvious potential because project implementation in itself was an insufficient basis for true development.

Unconnected, discrete and uncoordinated projects had been a force in fragmenting local development efforts. The trust would seek to re-introduce a unifying force--to strengthen the village--as an appropriate focus of development efforts. Henceforth, the planning, writing up and implementing of any project should be linked, first, with how well

it affects the quality of village life, and second, with how well the project incorporates local on-going adult development education and awareness-raising patterns. The individual project would be studied in its relationship to a total program involving not only the project itself, but also how it would improve the quality of village life, and how it would enhance continued adult development education in the village. The document went on to say:

#### 9.1.1 Trust's Plans and Methodology

Although the Statement of Resolve set a fine tone and sure direction for the trust, actually carrying out its mandate of reaching out to villagers was critical to the new organization. A development philosophy without trained personnel implementing it in the villages would remain but empty words on paper. I intended to use the same basic outreach strategy which I had found effective in 'Are'are villages to establish the trust's outreach program for other villagers of the Solomons.

In late 1982 and early 1983 the trust began employing field officers from the various provinces: Temotu, Guadalcanal, Malaita and Western. These three men and one woman began in much the same way the original paraprofessionals of 'Are'are did in 1980. They studied the trust's development philosophy and work patterns both of which were largely based on the 'Are'are experience. The Field Officer trainees and I conducted sixteen village three-day development education workshops during 1983. We followed much the same format which was field-tested in Malaita in 1980. The morning hours of the workshops were used to dialogue, discuss and at times disagree about the whole issue

of development. In the afternoon practical, useful technologies (pit latrines, drum oven stoves, raised fire places, making of charcoal, and so on) were tried out with the village participants. This combination of talk in the morning and work in the afternoon proved to be a powerful reflective tool for increasing development insights for both the villagers and ourselves.

The general objective of the trust's program, then, was to actively engage the villagers in the transformation of their own lives. To achieve this overall objective of sensitizing village people to the meaning and direction of such a transformation of individuals, institutions and society, the trust in its Village-focused Development Program 1983-1985 statement, established for itself a number of specific objectives:

- to create ways to bring development education and understanding to the village person;

- to implement projects which directly enhance village living and productivity;

- to initiate a rural loan system which stresses quality of life issues of village life. (1983:1)

To accomplish the general and specific objectives in the trust, the same statement outlined the following program goals:

- To train field officers who will conduct a vigorous development education program for the village people of their provinces.

- To create local Mobile Teams by identifying, selecting and training villagers willing and capable of acting as team members traveling village to village giving development education, fostering development projects and enhancing development activities at the local level.

- To establish a village centre in most provinces will be both the home base of the Mobile Teams as well as the site for learning, experiencing and training in SIDT's village-focused development efforts.

To inaugurate projects, either through grants or loans, which enhance and consolidate SIDT's development education efforts and strengthen and facilitate quality of life issues in the village. (Village-focused Development Program 1983-1985, 1983:1)

These program goals contain inter-related components which the trust conceived as reinforcing the general objective of actively engaging the village person in the transformation of his/her own life. The first component, development education, was patterned after the 'Are'are model:

These workshops are divided into two parts: the morning hours are given over to dialogue, discussion and debate concerning the development issue; the afternoon hours feature on-hands experience with those technologies which in the first instance make village life more healthful. (Village-focused Development Program 1983-1985, 1983:1)

A second part of the trust's outreach program was to establish village centers as home base from which the Mobile Teams would operate. The Village-focused Development Program 1983-1985 paper stated that:

These local centres function as the first level teaching, experiencing and training area for surrounding villages. The Centre becomes the home base for the local Mobile Team, an area where both the Teams and local participants gather for special courses, workshops and conferences concerning development. (1983:2)

Closely allied to the idea of Mobile Teams and Field Officers working from village centers was the concept of inviting overseas volunteers to help with the on-going training needed by the trust's Field Officers and the Mobile Team members. The Overseas Service Bureau, the Australian agency which sent the Australian Volunteers Abroad (AVA) agreed to send two volunteers, usually married couples, for each of the trust's five centers. These volunteers would enhance the Centre's



personnel by sharing administrative, planning, financial and organizational skills. The idea of introducing the AVAs was to leave each of the centres self-sufficient in administrative and organizational skills during the critical first two years of institution-building.

Another component of the trust's program goals was to clarify the role of project implementation. The Village-focused Development Program 1983-1985 statement proposed that:

SIDT will seek funding for those project proposals which encourage rural groups to become involved in their own transformation. . . . The conventional cocoa, copra, cattle projects of old which almost exclusively stressed the economic return at the expense of other dimensions like communal cohesiveness and creative cooperation will be strongly reviewed before seeking overseas funding. (1983:2)

The Solomon Islands Development Trust's plan was to establish a presence in four of the seven provinces of the country. This rural presence would take the form of village centers with trust personnel--Field Officer, Mobile Team members, overseas volunteers--who would be in constant, close contact with the village people surrounding the centers. These centers would be critical factors in the trust's outreach program to the villagers, offering development education and practical ways of initiating the development process.

Thus, the trust's plan of action, although in deep resonance with what had been field tested in Malaita a few years previously, took significant steps beyond the original concept. The village centers enhanced by overseas volunteers work was a new advance but in the same direction that the original paraprofessionals set out with the villagers after the original development education workshops.



## 9.2 Implementation and Effects of Trust's Program

At this writing (March 1986), approximately forty-five months after the trust began its work in the Solomon Islands, one may ask how well has it accomplished its plan of establishing Field Officers, Mobile Teams, and village-based centers with volunteers and its work in project implementation? What have been the effects of the trust's program on villages, overseas funding bodies and the development process in the islands in general?

### 9.2.1 Implementation of Program

By March 1984 practically all the major components of the trust's program were in place. In early 1984 trust personnel conducted a seven-weeks training course for Field Officers, Mobile Team members and Australian Volunteers at one of its centers in Malaita. At the end of March all eighty participants returned to their respective areas to strengthen SIDT's village-outreach program. The trust's Narrative Report 8--January to March 1984--stated: "If all goes well by the end of 1984 these Mobile Teams will have conducted a 3-day development education training for approximately 10% of the Solomonese 5000 villages" (1984:3). The trust's training program had prepared 60 Mobile Team members (sixteen teams of three to four persons), ten overseas volunteers and six Field Officers to return to their respective areas to work out of five village centers. Two of these centers are fully operational (North and South Malaita), two others are in the process of building up (Temotu and Guadalcanal), while the one in the Western Province had only recently been started. From these five centres, the

sixteen Mobile Teams began to tour villages and conduct the development education workshops.

The Trust's Narrative Report--10 (July through October 1984), stated that the Mobile Teams had indeed reached out to all seven provinces of the Solomon Islands and gave these figures in November 1984 in its quarterly report (1983:3; see Table 11).

Table 11

Mobile Teams Workshops Conducted in Seven  
Solomon Islands Provinces During the Months  
January Through October 1984

Province	No. of Villages	Participants
Ysabel	15	435
Makira	40	1209
Central	23	1121
Guadalcanal	53	2279
Malaita	81	1488
Western	48	1488
Temotu	41	1189
	<hr/> 301	<hr/> 10070

Source: Solomon Islands Development Trust,  
Narrative Report-10 (July through  
October 1984, p. 3.

Although the original goal of 10 percent of all Solomonese villages was not met in its first full year of operations, the trust had reached the 10 percent goal by the end of its second year (1985). The Mobile

Teams had conducted two- or three-day workshops in more than 566 villages, with 16,924 participants attending (Table 12).

Table 12  
Mobile Team Workshops Conducted in Six  
Solomon Islands Provinces During 1985

Province	No. of Villages	Participants
Temotu	156	5415
Makira	49	1408
Malaita	181	4894
Central	42	1079
Guadalcanal	66	2062
Western	72	2066
	566	16,924

Source: Solomon Islands Development Trust,  
Summary Report 1985, p. 2.

The trust's outreach program has not been development work on the cheap, however. Bilateral NGO Project Progress Report No. 3 stated:

During the first half of 1985 following organizations financially assisted the Trust in her Village Outreach Program:

International Human Assistance Program	\$14,000
Canadian High Commission	13,750
Australian Volunteers Abroad	50,293
Australian Freedom from Hunger Campaign	62,306
Private Agencies Collaborating Together	35,161
Dutch Bishop's Lenten Campaign	15,375
Heifer Project International	11,212

(Bilateral NGO Project, 1985:1).

Without the financial assistance of these groups and others, the program would never have been able to continue.

Because of its overseas funding sources and its accent on education in the development process, the trust is also working closely with the Solomon Islands Government's Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (RWSS). This program has become an inter-organizational cooperative with participation by WHO/UNDP, the Solomon Islands Government and the trust. The trust's component in the overall program has been twofold: financial assistance and educational. The trust's Narrative Report-8 (January-March 1984) details both of these components:

This 3 year project which is funded through the Overseas Service Bureau (OSB) and the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (AFFHC) (both of Australia) has a total budget of A\$742,000. The thrust of the program is to integrate the technical water supply/sanitation component with the development education capacity of SIDT to bring about a more holistic development process among villagers. (1984:3).

The trust's development educational outreach program to village people has been observed and backed financially by funding bodies in Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Although each funding agency has different criteria for judging development work, the education component factored into the very heart of each project proposal has become an important part of judging the worthiness of the development action. The trust's continued insistence on development awareness and understanding is warmly received by overseas funding groups.

### 9.3 Summary

The Solomon Islands Development Trust began operating in the middle of 1982. During the following years the trust has planned and implemented a development philosophy and methodology initially begun among the 'Are'are villagers in 1980. The trust's Field Officers, Mobile Team members, and overseas volunteers stationed in five village centers in six provinces tour villages surrounding their centers. Their village touring pattern reflects the development concerns and methodology which were successfully piloted in 'Are'are in 1980. Provincial authorities, Central Government and international funding agencies are keenly following the outcome of this village outreach program. And most importantly village people appreciate effort that the trust expends to reach out, touch lives and bring understanding to the Solomon Islanders.

## CHAPTER X

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 10.1 Summary

The Solomon Islands is a nation of villages. More than 85 percent of the nation's people live out their lives in these 5000 scattered, small, but culturally-alive centers. European colonialism has affected the life styles of these people for less than a century. One of the major areas of concern for villagers has been the type of development advocated by the powerful--major decision makers, central planners, and experts, both local and overseas.

The development model fostered by the British colonial system and too often accented by the Christian churches and business interests stressed material well-being as the core of what is meant when one speaks about development progress. These agents have brought about much needed educational patterns; introduced Christianity and its meaning into islanders' lives; reduced considerably the ravages of sicknesses such as malaria, diarrhea, yaws, and tuberculosis by establishing a medical presence throughout the country; and, created an economic system whereby the Solomon Islands' cash economy is sufficiently advanced to deal in the international market place.

These achievements, in a period of less than a hundred years, are considerable. Still they have not been accomplished without a cost--a significant cost. Expatriate political, economic and cultural domination firmly established a development pattern which was contrary to

the Solomonese understanding of life. Development in these islands became "economics plus." Development in terms of modernization worked to transform the whole of society, its economy especially, from a traditional mode to a modern one. Modernization in the form of economic infrastructure tended to be concentrated in the one urban center.

The typical villager has, over the years, experienced much less of "the good life" than his/her urban cousins. The development model offered to village persons made them increasingly dependent on non-indigenous supplies, determined their economic and social values, reduced their economic reciprocity and redistribution patterns, weakened their traditional ways of interaction with their physical habitat, and produced psychological and social dislocation. In a word, while one sector of island society participated in development in terms of modernization, the villager was experiencing growing underdevelopment.

Fortunately forces other than foreign development models were at work with village people. At first, flight into the mountains and remote parts of the country protected many Solomon Islanders from being dominated by the new life style. Later, Maasina Rule tried to articulate an alternate vision of island life. This same spirit of emphasizing a subsistence way of life, a system of social and economic organization that was harmonious with the natural environment and a marked degree of skill in social interaction still prevailed in many parts of the Solomon Islands.

To continue and strengthen this life style which is close to the Melanesian view of the good life, I returned to these islands to share with the 'Are'are people of Southern Malaita ways of creating,

sustaining and strengthening development in a transformational mode. This type of development accents the well-being and liberation of person and community through a transformation of personal and communal consciousness.

The method used to reach out to the scattered, small village populations featured dialogue, accented communal involvement and was praxis-oriented. By involving local people as the paraprofessionals who toured their own areas as Mobile Teams, the villagers of West 'Are'are experienced a unique form of development education. An important result of these workshops was their ability to create a new shared experience for villagers.

This development education was especially enhanced by two group exercises which encouraged dialogue--the Development Wheel and the Village Quality of Life Index. The index had the added attraction of helping to translate development theory into practical, workable, everyday actions. Development became an internal struggle on a personal level as well as on the collective one; it had as much to do with improving village life as it had to do with other dimensions of living such as planting cash crops, making roads and operating trade stores.

The paraprofessionals showed their deep involvement during and after the village-level development education workshops. They conducted workshops on their own in many of the nearby villages as well as traveling to more distant ones.

Villagers who participated in the workshops were touched and undertook various actions to address their development concerns. One of the most important works they undertook was to build the Harumou



People's Centre which has become a source of encouragement, the site of many educational and awareness-raising courses and the organizational force for their cultural and development works.

There has also been a positive response on the part of Central Government and the provincial authorities. These authorities have followed with interest the work of SIDT. The government's RWSS program and the trust's development education, for example, have teamed up to reach out to the village sector.

There now exists a local development agency--the Solomon Islands Development Trust--which operates a village-outreach program in all seven provinces. It uses the same development philosophy and methodology introduced in Southern Malaita in 1980. Provincial authorities, the Central Government and international funding agencies are following this program with keen interest and are also financially backing its operations. The introduction of villagers to the complexities and difficulties of the development issue has now been broadened out to touch other areas and provinces.

## 10.2 Conclusions

The development education workshops conducted in the villages suggest a number of insights, understanding and conclusions for those interested in reaching out to people who live in village conditions. Some of these conclusions specifically speak to how to respond to the problems facing villagers. Several conclusions can be drawn from the experience of the development education workshops conducted by the paraprofessionals.

### 10.2.1 Hunger for Development

Over the past twenty or so years the typical Solomon Islander has pursued the dream of development. Conventional wisdom directed that islanders should strive for development by implementing projects. But over the years it was becoming clearer, however, that project implementation was insufficient of itself. Something else was needed. The Development Wheel exercise underlined the complex nature of development process and unpacked the various dimensions--personal, material and social well-being--involved in holistic development. The index in turn translated these dimensions into practical, everyday actions open to every village groups.

The success of the paraprofessionals outreach program in bringing development education to the village person rests on the fact that rural people show a hunger to know and understand the modern world; to learn how to cope with the powers that are changing their world. The villager's traditional world is in serious disarray. The modern world surrounds and permeates to the core their way of understanding who they are, where they are going and how they are going to get there. The village workshops responded to the needs of many of those who have historically been left out of ways to grasp and understand what is happening to their way of life and ways to cope with the modern world. For the first time in the experience of some villagers a serious concerted attempt was made to address major issues which were affecting their daily lives. Rarely in their history had these villages discussed and dialogued as communities on topics of great import. Their response to this service was positive and warm and they expressed hope that it would continue in the future.

### 10.2.2 Methodology

The hearty reception each village group exhibited when visited by the paraprofessional teams underscored the value of reaching out to the village person. Any sort of education, whether community education, on-going education, or informal education, ultimately should mean interacting with people about life issues. In the Solomon Islands context, with its many villages scattered over some of the world's most difficult terrain, the educational outreach has to accept and work within the constraints of the lack of transport and communications.

The use of paraprofessionals acting as a bridge between local publics and an education service became an indispensable link in reaching out to the scattered populations. A new feature of the work of the paraprofessional was the Mobile Team approach. Groups of three or four paraprofessionals worked in unison to enhance their effectiveness. By working as a member of a team, the paraprofessional's credibility was increased in the eye of the villager. Also, the team approach became a much needed source of strength to the individual members. The Mobile Team experiment proved to be a powerful means to reach out to Solomonese population. The teams' use of the group-analysis tools--the Development Wheel and the Village Quality of Life Index--enhanced villager participation.

### 10.2.3 Investing in Village Life

If villagers were to faithfully carry out the development education workshop strategies--deepening the community's understanding of the development issue, focusing communal development energies to improving the quality of village life and strengthening local organizational

strength--what would it prepare them for? Is it a resistance strategy to slow down the eventual take-over by outside interests? Or is the village-focused development effort aiming at something more?

A major question in rural development efforts is, why bother to concentrate resources there at all. Is not the modern system so powerful, so pervasive and so dominant that the best that can be expected for the vulnerable village sector is that of a delaying action? Should not the village-strengthening systems be understood simply as a strategy to buy time, hoping against hope that somehow a better world system can come about than the one which presently dominates history?

The village-focused development strategy should be conceived as something more than a holding action. Certainly investing in village priorities would make it more difficult for multinational corporations such as the foreign logging firms in the Solomon Islands to dictate the conditions of development. Investing personnel, resources and funds in the village would constrain outside forces to mitigate their demands, to take into account local feelings, and to factor into the national planning exercise the little people's rights.

But village-focused investments can have more meaning. Development wisdom is not the private preserve of large, wealthy organizations, nor does it reside solely in national leaders. The proper formulation of development theory and practice has not been properly identified worldwide, and certainly not in these islands. The development education program suggests that there can be an alternative to conventional modernization development which could be worked out in a Solomonese context.

The Solomon Islands seems to be in a unique development position. The country's history of relative peacefulness, abundant natural resources of land and sea, and the industry and intelligence of its people gives the country a head start in the development context. The people's adherence to their culture, land and traditions augurs well for a solid base for a development growth which would respect a people's rights and aspirations. These conditions argue strongly for a creative future for the whole of the nation rather than a select few.

The negative development factors--high birth rate, multilingual background, modest mineral wealth, weakening educational, health and service care--are still manageable. The nation's land-person ratio remains healthy, Pijin-English is slowly overcoming the nation's communication weakness, sea and land resources present a fitting balance to the country's modest mineral wealth, and the island's social weaknesses are already being addressed. Even the one area of great concern--the lack of interest in the village person--is beginning to generate multi-level responses. Government, on both the national and provincial levels, is much more conscious of the vital place of the village in the nation's development. The churches and other non-government agencies are earmarking funds, personnel and other resources to reach out to the villager. These resources are focused on engaging the rural person in the national, provincial and local goals of development.

A major constraint in effecting a more suitable Solomon Islands development pattern is the assumption that the nation already has a correct idea of what is meant by development in general and what is

needed in rural development in particular. An important facet of this assumption is that rural economic growth is the essential key to further development. For this purpose, increased cash cropping, cattle schemes, market gardening and other economic projects like logging and agribusiness are given the highest national support and are allocated significant amounts of national resources. Basic to this thinking is that if rural people increase their economic activity, many if not most village and local area problems such as loss of young people to Honiara, village decay, generation gaps, land disputes and the breakdown in traditional morality will somehow be overcome.

While cash income has grown significantly over the past twenty-five years, the village and local problems have become more pronounced, village decay continues unabated, and the quality of rural life on a number of levels has deteriorated. If increasing villager income and purchasing power has been less than the perfect solution to the Solomon Islands development issue, are there alternatives? The past twenty years of development activity has witnessed an unprecedented national economic growth but this same growth pattern has also raised levels of rural discontent and reduced the quality of life. If the nation continues using the very same development strategy which has already proved suspect, will the next twenty years provide something better?

A development strategy which concentrates almost exclusively on economic growth as the solution to complex and profound human problems is doomed to failure. It is not that economic solutions are wrong, but that they are simply inadequate responses to the multidimensional

realities of life, inside or outside the village. What is needed at this stage of Solomon Islands development history is not an abandonment of economic growth aspirations but a strategy which understands and works to accomplish a wedding of economic well-being with other important qualities of life. The time has come to begin a program which can provide the space, time and conditions whereby individuals and groups can publicly address the full dimensions of the development debate, the personal, material and social well-being aspects of life.

The development debate no longer resides only in the urban center. The development education workshops first started in Malaita and now reaching out to the rest of the nation may allow the development debate to become a national effort.

## APPENDIX A

### DEVELOPMENT COURSE NOTES

#### Preface

The world has a deep, serious problem which is also a Solomonese problem. Why is there hunger with so much food; and why poverty with so much wealth around? How come there are so many afflicted people--sick, ignorant, poor while a few have so many privileges of plenty medicine, good education and staka money? In spite of the richness of the land, in spite of the creativity of people, and the vast stocks of knowledge all around us, the human community seems sad, mixed-up and unsure of itself.

Some people have made one plan for themselves when they face this problem, more money, more wealth, more buying, more of everything is their answer. Others have simply felt that all they could do is to drift with the times--a tired acceptance of whatever comes. Still others, although few in number, have answered the problem by violence--fighting, drinking and running to towns.

Some, and only recently, have begun to suggest that maybe there are more questions than answers. That perhaps we need to question seriously the deep connection among three important parts of village people's lives.

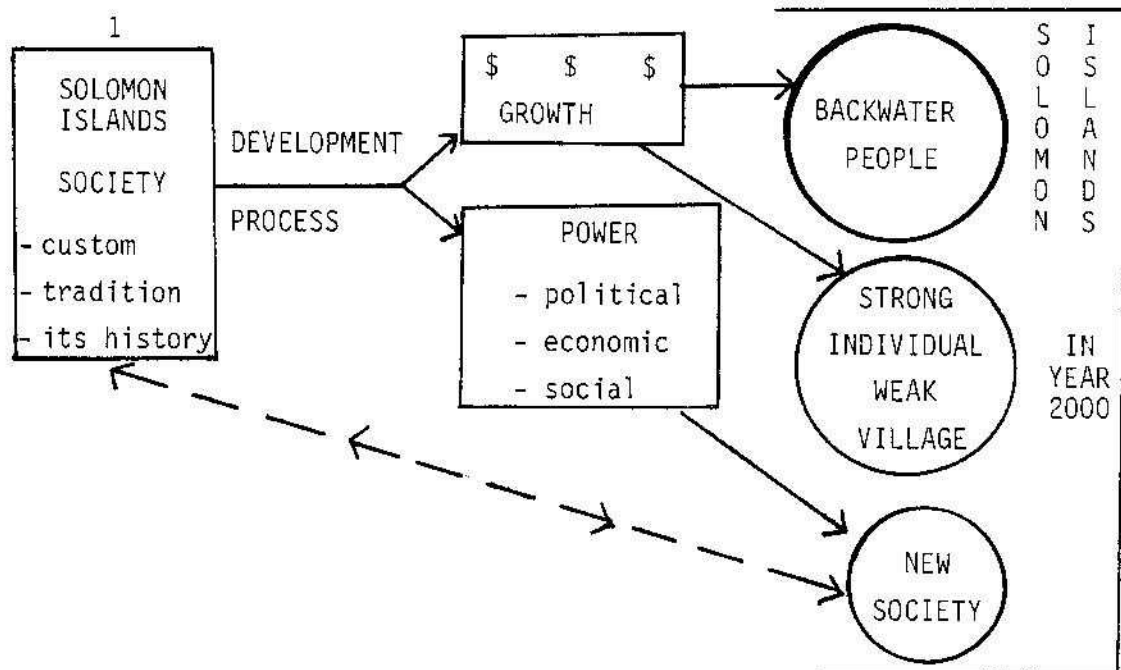


Figure 1



1. Solomon Islands society has its customs, traditions and has gone through a certain kind of history. There is little choice here. Much of what has happened is beyond a people's ability to change, to do over, to correct for the most part.
2. These are two ways to look at development. One of these ways is to see development as simply getting more shilling; the other way is increasing a people's political, economic and social power.
3. Solomon Islands of the year 2000 is being planted right now. Already one can see how different villages will be in 2000. Some villages will simply be dead, dying places--a backwater people. Most villages, however, will drift into a future which will have a few very strong families but most of the village will be poor, uneducated and powerless.

Rural development -- everyone in the Solomons is for it, who can really be against it? But just exactly what is meant by rural development is not clear. How to bring it about is even less clear. To village people rural development means hope, a way out of their poverty. To government it means a way of getting the countryside moving in a good direction. To the rich (we are beginning to have them with us, you know) it means a process by which village people can lift themselves out of poverty, closing the widening gap between the rich and poor without great cost to the rich.

This course is an attempt to find out what does rural development mean to the Are'are people, ways of enhancing it and sustaining it in the future.

### Introduction

The first step in this process has been to visit many of the villages of the Rohinari district to inform people why I have returned. The second step begins today with you--a group of resource people: open, willing workers, more interested in being a service to your people than dominating them. In order to become a valuable servant, however, certain values seem to be necessary. You must be a person who is able to grow, to expand, to become more human; when you don't, when you cease to grow, you can't tackle problems, you can't handle change in your life. As well, you understand and accept the absolute need of community, that a person on his/her own can't do development alone. And yet, having said this does not mean that you are so dependent upon others that you cannot be free to be yourself, to be fully the person God intends you to be.

We have come together as a small community welded together by these values. During these two months of training, we must absorb, reflect and question what's happening in the Solomons, to the society, to the people. But understanding village and district problems will not make them go away but they will force us to look for ways of handling them.

Sometimes we will need more knowledge, information and training. At other times the village situation will call for strong discipline and action. The next step is one which the group will understand and accept. We may seek knowledge through more training and courses but it's we who see that's needed since we have come to appreciate what are the problems of the Solomons.

But our job would only be half done if we simply became better informed but failed to bring our newly found awakening to village people. We are really doing this course so as to help others in the area become aware. We want to pass on our awareness to others so they too can experience who they are, where they are going and how they are going to get there.

All of this looks more complicated than it really is. Here's a picture of what I'm saying.

#### AWARENESS CIRCLE

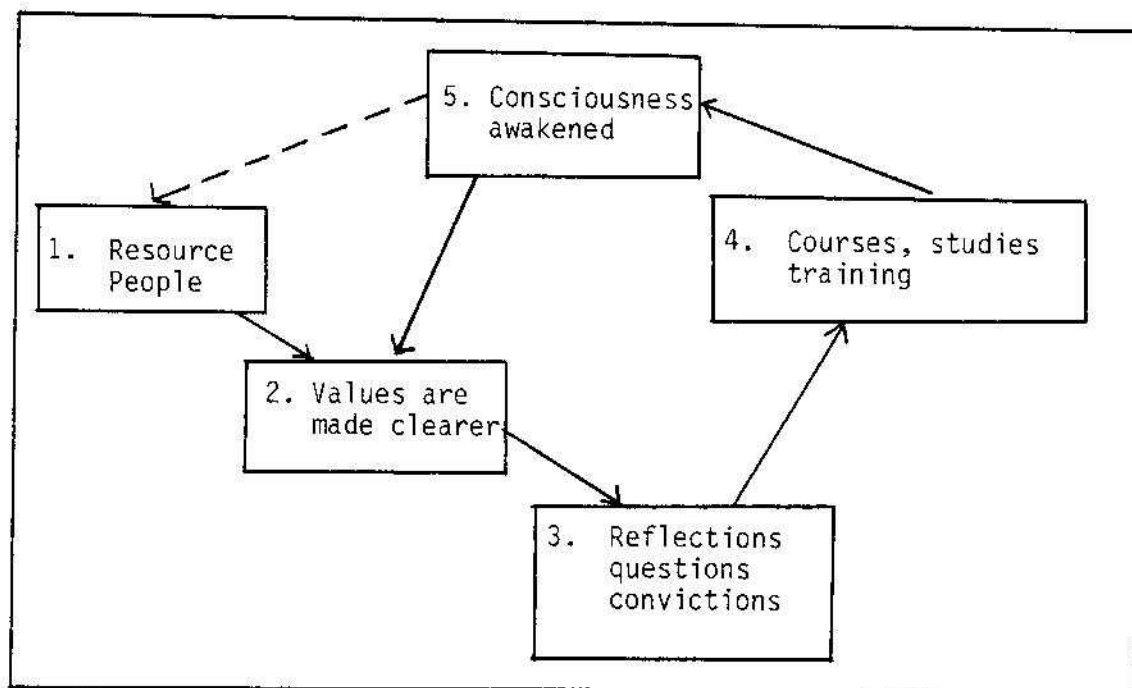


Figure 2

I feel it's important for you resource people to experience the same process you expect your people to experience. It's not a matter of teaching a few new facts to village people and then they will begin to understand rural development. I see the exercise of these two months--clear values, reflection, study, all leading to awareness--as a package deal. You can't get the desired results unless you experience the awareness yourself. Too often we short circuit the process by giving a training course. For example, we need village teachers so we take the

village headman or someone like him and give him a course on what it means to be a village leader. It's more than a matter of more facts but becoming aware of whether and how these new facts fit the community, how to be of service to the community and still be free to be oneself.

### Development--What it Isn't

Let us begin by understanding development as it is understood by some people.

- (a) Development means making Solomon Islands a smaller version of Honiara.
- (b) Rural development is best accomplished by bringing factories, businesses and shops to the countryside.
- (c) It's best accomplished by bringing in the latest and newest thing.
- (d) Or it means importing ideas, customs and things from rich nations.

Even all of these together will never bring the Solomon Islands to a development where all will live in peace and plenty.

### Development--What It Is

Development means a process by which persons and societies come to realize the full potential of human life in a context of social justice. This definition sounds nice but what does it mean? The following pages will explain some of the more important ideas found in this sentence. The following thoughts are aimed at making a modest contribution to development theory and practice.

#### Rural Development is a Process

We must be worried about the final goal of a project, clean water, as well as how it was obtained. For instance, a village could be given water by having a big machine come in and dig a well. But perhaps it would be best if the village itself organized the people of the community to work together to get water by planning for it, contributing money to the project and finally working for it. The goal is the same and end result in both cases was water, but the process was vastly different. The water which the community worked for not only produced water but it also served as a practical lesson of what happens when people work together.

Process has sequence. The Rohinari Hospital came first. Anutaiasi plantation followed because the Government refused to help post a dresser, pay for medicine and help with fuel. It would have been strange if we had started working at Anutaiasi and then thought of the Hospital.

A process is usually slow but steady. Those interested in rural development must resign themselves to a pace which fits the people. The process pace depends upon many things, the most important one being the will and capacity of the people themselves.

### Rural Development is For and by People

People are what development is all about. People with a truly liberated and open spirit are the most essential development ingredient. People are at the same time the objects of the process. Money and technology produce disappointing results if people of an area are not growing materially, psychologically and spiritually.

Development is more than making people rich. For to provide even a great deal of wealth without changing the human spirit is to deal mainly with money not people. Changed people will change a district, but merely bringing in more money to an area does not necessarily change people for the better. Development is a deeply moral question. Capitalism views development as a process of making people rich but leaving them politically powerless. Communism doesn't mind if all are poor so long as they are politically powerful. Our goal must be to enrich people and empower them.

But to enrich and empower people means involving people living in communities. People are not meant to live by themselves; they need each other for meaningful existence. Only by banding together in community can people overcome many obstacles and provide for themselves what they need to survive. Unfortunately much development activity counteracts community by promoting individualism at the expense of the group process. Many agricultural projects in the Solomon, e.g., coconut planting favored the individual, not the community.

And this brings us to the final point about rural development being for and by people. As outside agency does not bring development; it can speed up the process and at times stop it, but the process must be one coming from the people of the area. Julius Nyerere wisely said, "people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves." But in order to appreciate what their problems are, to address them and to carry through on their plans, needs some kind of an organization, a structure or an institution.

### Development Accomplished Through Structures

A structure can be thought of as an organization which permits people work together toward a shared goal. This definition is perhaps better understood by seeing how an organization performs.

1. Organization aid in problem solving: All people and societies have problem, often in the form of difficulties which interfere with go-ahead. When the Are'are people prepared Fr. Michael's ordination feast, they had many problems they solved by having Committees.
2. Organizations are tools for collective action: The Hospital could have been built unless the whole district has worked together and their Village Committee.
3. Organization unit action and behavior: Individuals are subject to moods and erratic behavior. As we well know, some people get angry and discouraged. An organization provides a way of overcoming whim of the individual.
4. Organization help permanence: Leaders may come and go but the job of the organization remains. The organization has a life of itself other than the people who run it.

But the organization must be one of the people's. Only organization which are locally owned can continue when outside support has been withdrawn. The highest goal of our development work is to strengthen organizations which belong to the people.

#### Development Involves the Whole of Life

It is important to realize that poverty has many faces. In some cases, it is poor health, or malnutrition, or poor education or despair or, most likely, all of them at the same time. If poverty touches all of life, so too must development touch all of life. One of the most serious temptations in development work is to take one part of the poverty picture, e.g., poor health, and think of only one way of stopping it, forgetting that many things produce poor health, e.g., lack of proper food, poor sanitation practices, little clean water, ignorance and little medical help. Even with a doctor working in every Solomonese village, unless many of the other parts of poor health were worked on at the same time, the doctor could not do much to improve health.

Education, in or outside the classroom, is an essential part of development work. Much of what we are going to do is educational. The process we are going through now is best seen as "people building," giving persons the basic skills and knowledge to create a better society. One of the most effective tools you have is your Christian faith. I have not put LOTU under a separate heading for an important reason. Jesus Christ came to "give life and give it more abundantly" to all people and the total person. The whole development process must be seen as through a prism--JESUS CHRIST who is interested in the whole of life. Hence it is not a question making Jesus Christ another heading in the definition of development but of understanding his role as the prism through which all of life is viewed.



### How to View Society

There seems to be two basic views or ways of looking at any society; the actor-view and the structure-view. Each of them has its strengths and each its weakness. The point of our study is to understand each of these views and to account for them when we look at development, or better still, under-development in the Solomons.

In the actor-view, society is made up of actors of different kinds (persons, organization, even nations), villages, province equipped with special personalities, differing in intentions and capabilities, eagerly looking for ways to pursue their aims.

In the structure-view, society is made up of positions and who ever is in those positions is either benefiting or suffering not so much from the intentions of the persons in those positions but from the position itself. No actor exists by him/herself and we cannot understand an actors behavior without knowing something about his position in relation to other actors.

Hence, neither view is complete by itself. Each view, although differing in fundamental ways, draws our attention to different aspects of social affairs. Both of them make the human condition clear in one way, unclear in another direction. For instance, let us examine the differences between them when we study the "problem of evil."

The actor-view relates action to the intentions and capabilities of actors while structure-view sees action coming from the position of the actor. In the first, evil is caused by bad intentions; in the second, the evil comes from the bad structure. Our view will be that both views must be kept in mind. It's not enough to have good people in positions of power, e.g., politician in Parliament but their very position must be defined and in reality be, one of service to the people. It is not enough to have good doctors (teachers, agriculture assistants, administrators) in the top positions but that the rural structures (local health, village education--adult and child, gardening practices, technical skills) have top priority as well. But as we will see in detail, trying to create structures that are responsive to the needs of the rural person is most difficult. Money or wealth of itself is incapable to do this work. Let us take the picture of the world economic structure.

As we can see by the figure much of the world's wealth leaves the poorest countries and goes to the richest. This is a process that has been going on for a long time and the rich part of the world wants it to continue for many more years. It is not a sufficient answer to the poverty of the Solomon Islands to ask for more money for their primary goods (copra, cocoa, cattle, condiments, fish, timber); there must be a movement towards more and more processing of primary goods here in the islands.

## GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

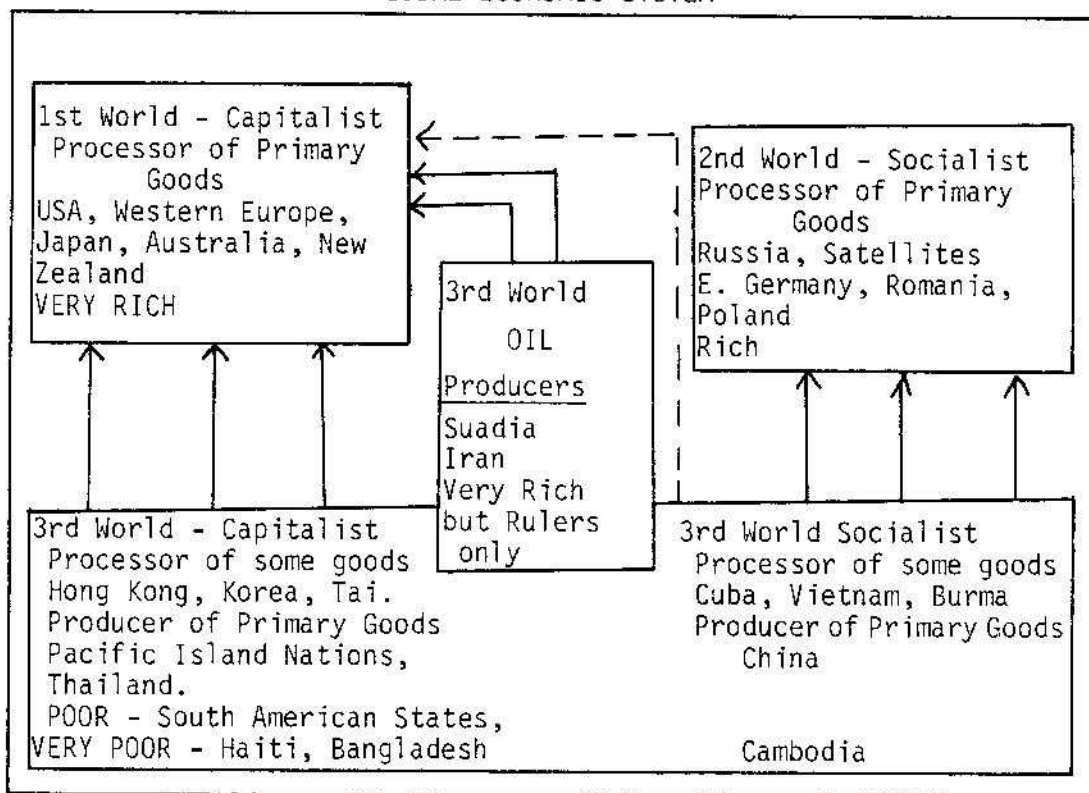


Figure 5

The same picture emerges if we study the internal economic system of the Solomon Islands. Villages are expected to supply primary goods: root crops, vegetables, cash crops. They are expected to do anything to them (processing them in any way: building supplies from the bush, preparing foods--pana chips, dried fruits, cooked fish, fruit drinks, oil from copra, sugar from own cane). All of this processing is expected to be done somewhere else, not in the village. So once again we see the same structure at work, one on the international scene, the other here at home. Giving more money doesn't come to grip with the basic problem of one position (the top) getting most of the benefits and the lower position getting less, much less. Putting good people into responsible positions isn't enough. Something has to be done with the structure: the rural area to insure control of its future must be more than a mere supplier of goods.

Total Rural Development

In order to help us in our thinking about rural development let us see how both actor-view and structure-view of society is needed in studying

development. In the actor-view of society, we find it divided into two sections: being power and having power. Structure-view gives us positional power.

#### PERSONAL GROWTH DEFINITIONS

(the person, not the things the person has)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a) Self-respect<br>submissive            | - confidence in one's own ideas<br>and ability to set one's goals;<br>having dignity, not fearful                            |
| b) Self-reliant<br>dependent             | - possibility of following them<br>with one's own means.   |
| c) Personal qualities<br>poor self-image | - intelligence, humanity,<br>resourceful, less to do with<br>education than being personally<br>enriched.                    |
| d) Identity<br>replaceable               | - person is not only an individual<br>but has an expanding personality;<br>close to self, others, his<br>society and nature. |
| e) Security<br>feaful                    | - the life and affairs of the<br>person are at peace; little<br>violence in society; nuclear<br>arms race yet no security.   |

#### RESOURCE GROWTH DEFINITIONS

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| f) Nutrition<br>too little food | - balanced food intake  |
| g) Shelter<br>poor housing      | - adequate housing and proper<br>kitchen and eating facilities.               |
| h) Health<br>much sickness      | - free of most serious diseases;<br>area and pattern of life<br>disease free. |
| i) Money                        | - ready access to cash for needs<br>other than produced from the<br>land.     |
| j) Land ownership               | - ready access to land for<br>gardening and cash crops.                       |
| k) Land use                     | - ready access to use of land for<br>gardening.                               |
| l) Transportation               | - ready access to means of getting<br>from place to place.                    |



- m) Communication
  - access to means of knowing about the world and interacting with it; education for young and old.
- n) Equality of Growth
  - are all the above economic criteria growing equally to almost all people in the village?
- o) Participation
  - opinions of others
  - no concern
  - most people cooperate with others almost on equal terms; dialogue is possible and is the normal way of conducting public business.
- p) Solidarity
  - e.g., money
  - predominate value
  - most share the major values of the society and act from them; e.g., sharing, reciprocity.
- q) Autonomy
  - outside rules
  - more important
  - power over oneself to be able to withstand what others might have.
- r) Equity
  - take advantage
  - of others
  - all sides equally benefit in any interaction; e.g., buying something in a store; women are economic backbone of country (gardening, feeding animals/ caring for family) yet little economic power.

In conclusion, if all of these are studied together, we get a picture of development (or lack of development) in the district. It considers human development (progressive satisfaction of the needs of the body, mind and spirit) and social development (a man-made environment compatible with human development). If the social and personal areas are growing, then the society is strong and is capable to participate in public life of the nation, the life of politics. If one or both areas are weak, then the political life of the community is also poor.

### World Views--Social Cosmology

Development means much more than a change in agricultural practices, or a new machine in the district or more jobs. It also goes deeper than having new working patterns (job begins at 8:30, ends at 4:30), or emphasizing consumption over production (buying things rather than growing them) or oneself over others. What really is at stake is asking people to see the world in a new way; to view the world they grew up in a completely different light; to put on a special set of eye glasses,

not simply sun glasses which change the color of the world but leave it basically unchanged. What, then, is this new world suppose to look like?

Western nations have been most influential in teaching Solomon Islanders this new world-view. Educators, administrators, missionaries, business people, overwhelming from First World nations, have been the main teachers of Western World-view. It would be worth our while to ask, "How does the Westerner (European, American, Whiteman) look at his/her world?" It is so different from the Melanesian experience. If so, does it make much of a practical difference to life? In other words, does the Westerner see somethings very important, e.g., working by the clock which seem unimportant to Solomon Islanders. Perhaps what an islander demands as a vital part of life, e.g., land ownership, the westerner sees as valuable only if it can be bought and sold at a profit.

In general, the Westerner has three major ideas in mind when he/she speaks about development:

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| a) progress       | while all cultures have an idea of progress, each defines it differently; e.g., come closer to the one (God). Westerners think of it basically as <u>material</u> progress.  |
| b) modernization  | a process of transforming the world as a result of increasing amount of knowledge; it means basic patterns of living are qualitatively changed for the better by Western knowledge.  |
| c) Westernization | not only progress and modernization are designed but the very way of thinking about the world should be shaped in a Western direction. The West's social cosmology, not simply its inventions, techniques, and artifacts, should be transferred to other cultures. |

Here an effort will be made to go on floor deeper, underneath the level of progress and modernization. Let us see what is meant by Western social structures, penetrate what makes up Western social cosmology.

First of all we must be sure that the idea of a social cosmology is understood in a general sense before understanding the West's brand. Here is a definition of social cosmology (right side of paper) with some explanation (on left side of paper).

DEEP IDEOLOGIES

- is to a civilization/culture what personality is to an individual
- general assumptions how the world in general and human relations in particular are organized and how they came about.
- unquestioned assumptions that dictate what is normal and natural to that culture.
- a cognitive (thinker's) map of the world and human relations.

S  
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- a person's and society's basic system of goals and values plus the concrete means chosen to achieve them.
- specific systems of goals and means.

DEEP STRUCTURES

- patterns of millions of human transactions with a certain sameness over time; almost all of them routine.

To discuss the Western social map of the world some important parts of the map have been chosen. Thus, to understand a social map we should have a fair idea of how a culture/civilization views the structures of social SPACE, of what has importance in social TIME, of the meaning of KNOWLEDGE, of how MAP is joined to other MEN, MAN to NATURE, and finally MAN to GOD. Other important parts exist, e.g., meaning of future, but if some idea can be developed as to WHAT is the normal structures/meaning of space, time, knowledge, man/man, man/nature and man/God a claim can be made to the understanding of what that culture sees as natural/normal to their world; and hence, what they mean when they speak of development.

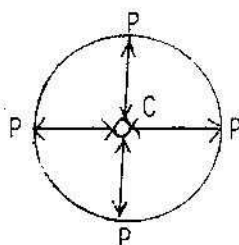
To clarify the Western social map (cosmology) I have also listed some alternative social maps which are at home in China and Japan.

WESTERN CIVILIZATIONALTERNATIVES

S  
P  
A  
C  
E

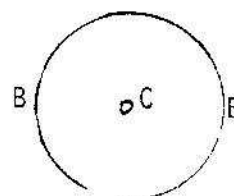
There would be a CENTER located in the West from which most good things come and a PERIPHERY which is the rest of the world, eager to receive the Western message.

Figure 8



- Chinese for centuries thought themselves the CENTER and the rest of the world as BARBARIAN, beneath any serious attention.

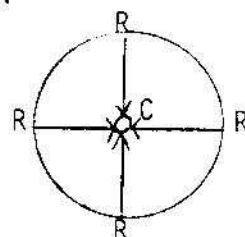
Figure 7



- CENTER has changed over the years; once it was Greece, then Rome, once Germany, France, Britain and now USA and Russia. It may grow but never change--Western society is seen as natural/normal one.

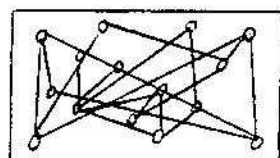
Japanese also considered themselves CENTER but all other areas were seen as RESOURCES for Japan.

Figure 9



- Other societies see themselves simply a different society, neither inferior nor superior.

Figure 10



T  
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M  
E

- idea of progress--the claim that if not everyday and in every way, then at least some ways we are getting better and better.

- time has an arrow--continuously on the rise.

- crisis is close by and must be overcome for growth to continue.

- tomorrow is more important than today, and today is superior to yesterday.

- seen as flat, heading neither for the better nor for the worse; Does that mean life becomes meaningless, a boring repetition of boredom? Stand on the reef and look at the sea. Is it boring, is it ever boring?

- a valid picture of this kind of time would be one of our heartbeat. We do not want it to grow stronger and stronger, nor weaker and weaker but remain constant without progress nor decrease.

- our task is not so much to search for the future but to do as well as the best of the past, and it will strain our every effort to do just that.

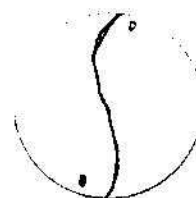
- world is seen as consisting of parts which can be taken apart piece by piece and

- seen as flat, heading neither for the better nor for the worse.

- studied; this is the basic way to understand reality.
- K - once this is done, one is able to have a clear-cut picture of which part is caused by another which is the effect.
- N
- O
- W - the third step is to tie up all these cause-effect bits into a theory which will be used to CONTRADICTIONS IN LIFE
- L
- E
- D - mastering of the hard core, here and now, becomes essential for anyone who wants to command the world (read-wants to command man and nature).
- G
- E - development is finding out the one or two bits (usually education and/or money) which will make development happen.
- 
- the typical Western approach is clearly vertical; emphasizing what is different (occupation, income, education) so as to rank man over man.

- world is seen much more as a whole where intuition, intuitive ways of knowing are indeed valid.
- Chinese understand knowing as denying the possibility of sorting out the good from the bad (cause from effect). The yin/yang symbol is used:

Figure 11



where one part is forever growing and decreasing at the same time as the other is growing and decreasing.

- even if all possible scientific questions have been answered, the problems of life remain completely untouched. Mystery is a quality that sticks to and is indispensable to our life.
- although we need a language which is precise (science) we need as well one which awakens possibilities in this life.
- symbols, pictures, images taken all together say more than any scientific formula what this world is about; meanings, beginnings, endings.
- participant deservation, interaction between knowledge and practice: each is changed when they begin to interact.

- Japan and China saw the Collectivity as the fundamental actor; within the collectivity there was an emphasis on what members has in common than what made them different.

M A N  T O  M A N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- individual is the basic social actor; education and travel seen as enriching individual.</li> <li>- the approach to conflict resolution is seen through competition or even competitive process (duels, battles, court cases, voting, sports) which says who is the winner and who the loser.</li> <li>- this same sorting out process can be applied to groups and countries--First World, Second World, Third World.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- individual welfare considered but an individuals education and travel were on behalf of the group, in order to enrich the local society.</li> <li>- conflict is handled through process that leans toward <u>consensus</u> and some kind of harmony (deliberations and debate till consensus has been arrived at). Pacific Way?</li> <li>- small units of people than at present (nation-state) which could act fact-to-fact than through representative government.</li> </ul>
M A N  T O  N A T U R E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Man rules over nature as God rules over man.</li> <li>- Nature is seen as fundamentally different from man, e.g., it is desouled, only man has a soul.</li> <li>- It emphasizes man's rights over nature more than his duties to nature.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Man is seen as part of nature, blending his economic cycles with nature's ecocycles (planting of gardening in Melanesia).</li> <li>- A situation of communion: man-in-nature rather than apart from nature.</li> <li>- Rather than dominating nature man attempts to come to grips with it in a more life giving manner.</li> </ul>
M A N  T O  G O D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- One personal God to whom man is accountable expressed in an exclusive and centrally organized religion.</li> <li>- Western humanism will see faith in science and technology as something taking the place of this God but make them equally exclusive and universalist.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism are non-exclusive, non-universal religions.</li> <li>- Some cultures accept science and technology but in a limited way; as being only part of life not the most essential element of it.</li> </ul>

The total picture of these six parts is a broad sketch of Western social cosmology. Taken together they make-up an image of what would be normal/natural way of acting for one from the West. Anything that has this

basic design, e.g., way of eating: soup/salad/dinner/dessert; music: design of classical music will appear as normal and less questionable than the opposite. However, this does not mean one cosmology is right and another is wrong or better but of sensitizing oneself to the differences of world-views.

Once having understood a bit about the Westerner's world-view, we must now turn to the Melanesian world-view so as to better understand how you see the world and indicate major differences between your view and the West's view.

### PRE-CONTACT MELANESIA

S P A C E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A Melanesian saw this social system as one among many, not at the center to be imitated by all others.</li> <li>- Scattered hamlets in the region undermined any desire to create large villages.</li> <li>- Although acknowledging other places and other people, they saw themselves as a center of concern, not others.</li> </ul>	M A N T O G O D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ones ancestors are as important as the living; they are continually present, "like the wind."</li> <li>- Relationships are basically horizontal with little verticality.</li> <li>- Big Man helped by people who in turn helped them.</li> <li>- Clan relationship very important.</li> </ul>
T I M E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the time cosmology was governed not by clocks but the growing seasons, the moon (especially) and the sun.</li> <li>- no distinct ideas of progress yet it did have its small ups and downs.</li> <li>- Tomorrow would take care of itself attitude.</li> </ul>	M A N T O N A T U R E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nature was very close to the person, physically but especially psychologically. His ancestors were buried there.</li> <li>- Illness was generated from violation of pollution taboos and slighting of claims of one's ancestors.</li> </ul>
K N O W L E D G E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- considered a gift from the ancestors.</li> <li>- Success in fishing, feasting, gardening, etc. depends upon ritual as much as the practical act of doing them.</li> </ul>	M A N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A focus on propitiation of ancestors which assures good fortune in the future.</li> </ul>



- dreams, omens and natural events can be the source of messages.	T O G O D	- Recognized the spirit world but one which was essentially hostile to humankind unless controlled by magic and ritual.
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I have indicated some of the different and sometimes contradictory world-views, it becomes easier to understand the direction of development has taken over the years but more importantly why it has gone in this direction. Many Solomon Island youth, especially among the leaders, because of education, or travel or urban living and probably all three, no longer accept a Melanesian social map but have adopted one closer to the West's world-view. Here are a few examples of how the West has changed your world-view.

#### MELANESIA IMPACTED BY WEST

S P A C E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Melanesia is made to understand that a center exists and it's not in their area of the world.</li> <li>- Material goods, spirituality and other goods begin at this center.</li> <li>- Rural areas are outside this center which is strengthened by creating local centers (Tulagi, then Honiara) which have the material (schooling, jobs, money) for the good life.</li> </ul>	M A N  T O  M A N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Westerners completely disinterested in ancestors.</li> <li>- These ghosts had no impact on living while wealth did.</li> <li>- an emphasis on vertical relationship, e.g., with government, church and God.</li> <li>- individual himself more important than the clan.</li> </ul>
T I M E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Life is ruled by the clock.</li> <li>- More importantly, tomorrow is more important than today and today superior than yesterday.</li> <li>- a definite commitment to progress.</li> </ul>	M A N T O N A T U R E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Primary and possibly only relationship to nature is how to extract her riches. Agriculture and mining were the ways to do this.</li> <li>- Sickness came from germs; nothing from agrieved ancestors.</li> </ul>



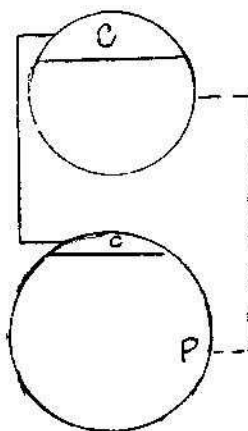
K N O W L E D G E	- Education in the form of schooling is the proper and only proper source of knowledge.	M A N  T O  G O D	- Only one God who is supreme; all other 'powers' are imagination made with no power.
	- Knowledge is completely secularized and made into compartments.		- Most worthwhile human activity is completely secularize; spirit world reserved for Sunday observation.
	- Little or no room for knowledge not coming from center.		

Once it is realized how deeply the West's social map of the world has penetrated, how it has changed the Melanesian world-view, it becomes increasingly clear why development in Solomon Islands has been:

1. primarily urban centered.
2. catering to the needs of the local elite (the educated, the politically powerful and/or the successful business man) rather than the village poor;
3. limiting rural people to participating in the nation's economic life to cash cropping and/or laboring for others.

On the international scene there are two basic classes of people--the 'haves' and the 'have-nots': the First and Second worlds and the Third World. In these islands this basic structure is duplicated by having a growing urban center (Honiara) and a faltering rural periphery. Those in charge of development, the people in planning positions understand it a normal/natural world-view to have a CENTER-PERIPHERY. The international world is that way, Solomon Islands world is made to look the same way. Honiara-CENTER: Villages-PERIPHERY. We can draw a picture of this view:

Figure 12



Solomon Islands is in the PERIPHERY on the international level but Honiara (and all who are the power holders in the country) considers itself CENTER, while the village person is considered and is PERIPHERY. Power-holders in Honiara (elites) see themselves closer to the thinking (world-view) of the CENTER than they do to their own people. That is why I joined the Cs with a solid line (to show strength) but a broken line to join the Ps (to show weaknesses between them).

Our work is cut out for us. In order to achieve a future Melanesia which will be acceptable to a majority of the people, we must begin working almost immediately. But what kind of work will it be? Yearning for the days of old (traditional approach) seems to be an impossible and fruitless desire. Abandoning completely the Solomonese way and choosing the modern way (Western cosmology) seems unacceptable to a majority of people. Many Solomon Islanders are bi- and sometimes trilingual (own language, pidgin and English); they don't take the best of each of the languages to make a new one. Likewise island society must be at home in two cultures: rural/urban, Melanesian/Western social cosmology, traditional/modern. In other words, what is desired is a society which can transform both social maps for a new society. Can we think of it in this way?

#### POSSIBLE FUTURE MELANESIA

S P A C E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- recognition of both spaces rural/urban--as complementary parts for a whole life.</li> <li>- each space has worth in so far as it can be used creatively.</li> <li>- village should become a resource center for creative rural living; town conscious integrates rural values in its life style.</li> </ul>	M A N T O M A N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- strengthening communal ties through community projects and participation in them by many in the community.</li> <li>- re-establish links between villages and between districts, e.g., three districts of Rohinari, Tarapaina and Rokera.</li> </ul>
T I M E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ability to recognize and use both times.</li> <li>- consciousness of the refreshing quality of nature's rhythms for physical and emotional health; effort to use each kind of time creatively, e.g., building a home as a project to be finished in reasonable time.</li> </ul>	M A N T O N A T U R E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More creative use of the hanua; slash and burn farming to give way to more careful gardening.</li> <li>- acceptance of human factor in sickness, e.g., stress as well as the spiritual and psychological ones.</li> </ul>

K N O W L E D G E	- rebirth and appreciation of local sources of knowledge through local research, agriculture, land, sea.	M	- A proper place for ancestors and a theology which accounts for their concern for the living without dominating those on earth.
	- schooling to incorporate local knowledge, e.g., Ma'asina Rule history and its meaning.	A	
		N	
		T	
		O	- reorientation towards questions concerning beginnings and endings which science is incapable of addressing.
		G	
		O	
		D	

### Introduction

We have spoken of how the Western social map (its world-view, its social cosmology) has worked in the Solomon Islands in a very general way. Now we must study more closely what has actually happened in Honiara (CENTER) and in two villages (PERIPHERY). The facts and figures about Honiara are taken from these three government books:

(a) Statistical Bulletin 1978

(b) A Review of the Solomon Islands National Development Plan 1978

(c) Solomon Island National Development Plan 1975 - 1979.

The name of the study about Berahue/Taboko which gives us information about the villages is:

Murray Bathgate, 1975, Bihi Matena Golo: a study of the ndi-nggai of West Guadalcanal.

### National Development Plans

#### In General

A nation's development plan is supposed to be the best and most up-to-date thinking concerning a country's development. It is the official document of development practice which establishes the goals, processes and indicators of a country's growth. The plan is a special source of understanding how leaders of a country view what is important in development. The plan is supposed to search out the past for understanding, to clarify present day needs and to boldly plan for the future.

But the plan can also be seen as something else. A development plan is not only a book with many numbers and facts; it is a book which is written with a social cosmology behind it. Those who write such a plan have a very real interest in the outcome of the plan and making sure the outcome is normal/natural to their way of thinking. Hence, a national development plan can be viewed as a major way showing what social cosmology is at work.

What about the Solomon Islands Development Plan 1975-1979? Is the Plan for the whole Solomons community (urban and rural) or does it favor one section more than another? Can we say the government is equally interested in all Solomonese people or does it lean more to one group than another?

### Plan's Objectives

It must be said right from the beginning that the Plan's goals and principles can only be praised. The principles of self-reliance, local participation and leveling up of distribution of development are worthy of praise indeed. However, when these principles are put into practice we see another picture coming out. For instance, although increased food production is listed as a basic part of self-reliance, there is little on how government is going to improve production of local foods except by having more markets. The plan speaks about more equal distribution of development in the rural areas. But the development it means is limited to cash crops, cattle and forestry as if these things are the same as helping rural people.

One of the best ways of studying the plan is to find out what have been the results of such a Plan over the years. These results become signs which point out rather more clearly than words do what social cosmology is at work.

### Results of Plan in Honiara

#### Population and Modernization

What passes for "modern" development (electricity, roads, education and medical services, business, jobs) is highly concentrated in Honiara. The rest of the country has much less of all of these.

Honiara is growing more rapidly (4.9% compared to the rest of the nation 3.4%). To understand what this means, consider the townships in Solomons. Honiara in 1976 is almost 10 times the size of the next largest township (Gizo) and 5 times the size of the next three townships taken together.

Figure 12

URBAN POPULATION AND URBAN GROWTH SOLOMON ISLANDS			
ONE TOWN AND THREE TOWNSHIPS 1970-1976			
TOWN/TOWNSHIPS	1970	1976	ANNUAL GROWTH RATE
HONIARA	11,191	14,943	4.9%
GIZO TOWNSHIP	1,500	1,586	.9%
AUKI TOWNSHIP	866	709	-2.6%
KIRA KIRA TOWNSHIP	430	561	4.5%

The response of government to this heaping-up in Honiara has been to increase the money spent there. In 1971-1973--the Sixth Development Plan--the government spent \$305.05 per person in Honiara and only \$121.76 per person in the rural areas of the country. What was true in 1973, continues in the plan as the government Review document of 1978 makes clear: "Honiara . . . has a heavy concentration of jobs, Government services, industry and modern amenities."

## (II) Super growth of Honiara

A city which grows too quickly has a very difficult time trying to bring together in a healthy way a good life for the people of that city. When a city grows too fast some of the things (education chances, medical services, recreation things, roads, transportation, jobs) must be taken away from the people of the hanua and given to the quickly growing city so as to keep the peace.

Scientists say that a city is growing too quickly if it doubles its population in less than 20 years. Let us look at Honiara:

1962	4,500 people
1968	7,000 people
1970	11,191 people
1976	14,943 people
1986	26,400 people

We see that in far less than 20 years (1962-1976 only 15 years), Honiara's population has more than tripled (3 times) which means it has undermined the government's desires of "decentralization, distribution and decolonisation" by shifting the nation's resources (money, personnel, natural resources, e.g., food and technology) away from the rural areas to the urban area.

### (III) Employment and Unemployment

Honiara's population is less than 8% of the total Solomon Island population; yet, 30% of the jobs are in the city. If we include the area close to Honiara, Guadalcanal Plains, we find that the jobs available are almost half of all the jobs in the country.

Figure 13

<u>EMPLOYMENT BY COUNCIL AREA 1974-1977</u>				
<u>COUNCIL AREAS</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>% 1977</u>
Honiara	5420	4917	5000	30
Malaita	1540	1752	1800	11
Guadalcanal	1700	2802	3000	18
Western	2450	3310	3300	20

Yet the unemployment rate in Honiara is rising at the same time--5420 jobs in 1974 to 4917 in 1976--so that many people do not have any jobs--LIU

### (IV) Food Imports and Agriculture

The plan promotes two structures; one for the city, one for the countryside. Emphasis on cash crops has directed labor and land away from root crops. (We will see examples of this in the Taboko study which follows.) What the hanua produces per year (2.5%) is not keeping up with population increase (3.4%). Hence, Solomon Islands spend much money for overseas food--19% per year as in 1970-1966--which should and could be produced by village people.

Although the Plan had good intentions to help all the people of the islands, especially the rural person, what really happened is something else again. In spite of the good intentions we see the power of a social cosmology to direct depicture we see becoming clearer and clearer.

- I. Honiara becomes the Center while the village is Periphery: Solomon Islands duplicate the international structure by heaping-up population and "modern" economic activity.
- II. Supertown sets the direction of the nation's development towards itself.

III. Urban jobs at the expense of no-jobs for most of the other people.

IV. Steady and growing dependency on outside food.

### Village Life

Perhaps the power of a social cosmology is strong in Honiara but has really little influence in the hanua. In this part let us look at two villages which are the same in most ways except that TABOKO markets in Honiara and VERAHUE has much less contact with Honiara.

Here are a few facts about the number of hours worked by people in both villages and the different kinds of food eaten by the two village people.

Figure 14

<u>WORK EACH WEEK</u>		
	<u>VERAHUE</u>	<u>TABOKO</u>
Hours spent in gardening	8 to 12	22 to 23
Transportation/selling	0	7 to 11
Total	8 to 12	29 to 34

<u>FOOD EATEN</u>		
Root crops	56.5%	9.3%
Coconuts	5.5	3.3
Vegetables	9.0	5.3
Fruits	5.5	5.4
Sea Food	14.5	0.0
Sub-Total	91.0%	23.4%
Rice	1.4%	15.4%
Biscuits/bread	2.0	19.5
Tinned meat/fish	0.7	10.1
Tea/sugar	0.7	10.7
Beverages	1.4	9.4
Tobacco	1.4	6.7
Others (onion, etc.)	2.1	4.8
Sub-Total	9.0%	76.6%



A number of things must be said about what has happened to TABOKO because of its close links with Honiara. The amount of money has greatly increased but most of it has been spent on buying food rather than growing it. Here are some less than happy things that are happening to this village.

- I. Exchange of food and other things between families has gone down.
- II. Cooperation in communal work is down.
- III. Land disputes are on the rise.
- IV. In times of food shortages (big rains, flooded rivers) not enough food in the village.
- V. Dental problems rising and 'weak-blood' because of new foods.
- VI. Discipline problems rising because parents are away from village for long time.

So we can see that the type of development which Solomon Islands has been following over the years has hurt the big majority of people whether they live in Honiara or in the village. However, this kind of development has helped some people the educated, the politically powerful, the business people and the bureaucrat most of whom are not only living in CENTER but think themselves CENTER.

### Alternative Ways to Development

For the remaining part of this weekend and most of next weekend, let us study how other countries tried to develop. Some of these countries are very different from Solomon Islands. We don't want to imitate them but to open our minds to the very many different ways of seeing the same problem but coming up with different answers. But in each of these countries what will be looked at closely is how they tried a structural change in favor of the powerless and not just an actor change which too often favors the powerful.

#### (a) China 1948 - 1980

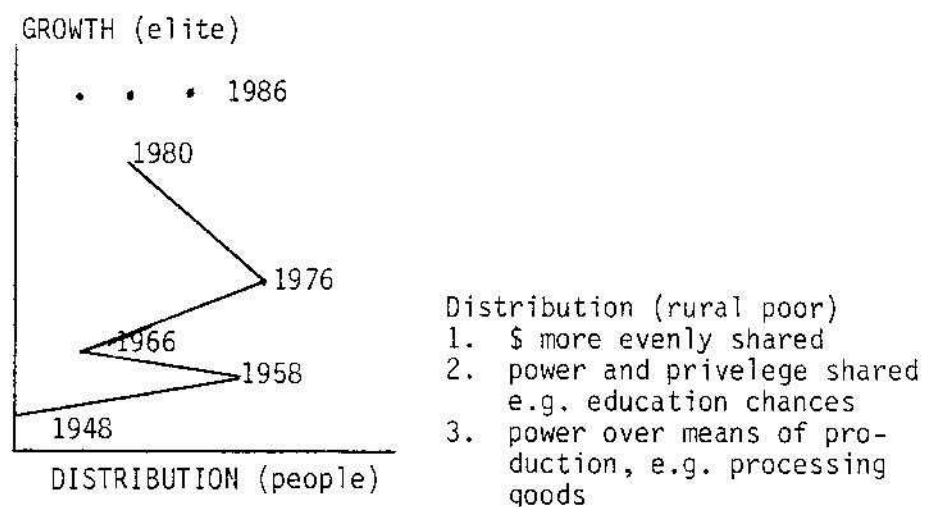
China is such a big country, so different from the rest of the world, so difficult to know that perhaps it should be the last place we should begin. But may be because it has and had so many problems (much greater and deeper than any ever found here in these islands) that we can take heart from some of their works.

In 1948 China was truly poor; 600 million people whose gardens were destroyed, little food left, no factories, very little money, bitter fighting and the seen as the outcast of the international world. It's basic problem was how to feed, cloth and house over 600 million people.



Many countries facing this type of difficulty start development by helping the most powerful sections of society--the big business people, the educated, the politically powerful, the bureaucrats (called the elite)--who are then taxed by government and the money collected is used to help the poor, the powerless and the uneducated. But China went in another direction. She decided to work with the rural people first and only after their basic needs were met would the elite be helped. Here is a graph showing the recent history of China and how both these groups--the rural poorest and the elite--went up and down.

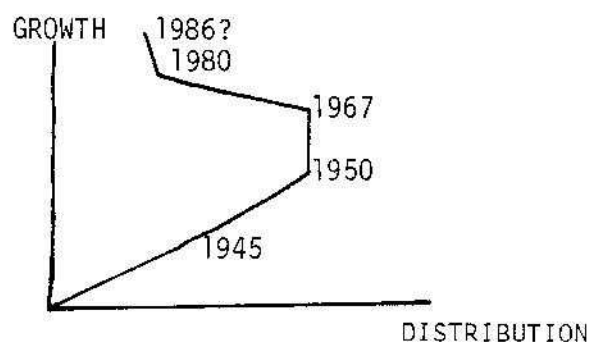
Figure 15



For the most part when distribution increased the rural people's lives were better and worse when growth went up for the elite. When distribution increased we see a structural change in favor of the powerless.

Let us look at the Solomon Islands history during the same period. After the big war finished in 1945, this country was basically a healthy one--there was enough food, no fighting, a fertile land waiting to grow much food. Ma'asina Rule wanted more than that. It wanted to bring a better life to the people of the hanua by forbidding young men to work on outside plantations and do their own plantations, for one thing. Here is a graph of the history of the Solomons:

Figure 16



In 1950 Ma'asina Rule leaders were imprisoned and in 1967 Solomon Islands were officially opened to overseas investors. Ma'asina Rule can be seen as a structural change to help those in the villages.

For practice let us study answering problems which seek to change the structure rather than strengthening the structure. If we take the LIU/School Leavers/Young People problems we have a good place to begin. Here are two ways of answering the LIU problem.

### 1. National Work Corps

Perhaps we could get most of Lius/School Leavers/Young People to join a National Work Corps which would work in the rural areas helping to build roads, bridges, bettering villages and gaining skills while doing the work. More than likely such an organization would have to be financed by a national basis which means control by central government and easily becoming a political tool. Hence such a plan of helping the Liu problem easily strengthens the CENTER-view of development.

### 2. Research and Development (R & D)

Another way to look at the Liu problem is one which young people would be the major researchers in the following areas vital to the rural people:

<u>NUTRITION</u>	<u>SHELTER</u>	<u>ENERGY</u>
food processing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• small scale canning</li> <li>• home canning</li> <li>• copra crushing for oil</li> <li>• dried foods</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- traditional housing material used in new ways               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• design of new homes</li> <li>• use of plastics</li> <li>• strengthen and increase endurance of local material</li> </ul> </li> <li>- wooden slates for roof</li> <li>- coral based cement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- charcoal</li> <li>- stoves designed to use charcoal and wood</li> </ul>
<u>ADMINISTRATION</u>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- admin. skills picked up by practice in Committee work</li> <li>- record keeping from R &amp; D</li> <li>- systems approach in agric.</li> </ul>		

It is known that the return on research is at least 20 percent a year but the most important thing is that the researcher gets the most return: experience, expertise, knowledge. Young people from PERIPHERY control knowledge, not the CENTER.

(b) Guinea-Bissau 1974 - 1980

This country is only four years older than the Solomon Islands and in many ways quite similar. The following facts and figures gives a picture of Guinea Bissau (G-B) and similar facts and figures of the Solomon Islands so you can see the differences and likenesses.

Figure 17

	<u>SOLOMON ISLANDS</u>	<u>GUINEA-BISSAU</u>
	29,000 sq. km 1982 - 232,000 pop. 7.8 per km.	
GEOGRAPHY	11,500 square miles 9' south of equator both countries are tropical with jungle and grass plains.	14,000 square miles 10' north of equator
PEOPLE	200,000  English, pidgin with 70 other languages  90 Christian 10% Animists	930,000  Portuguese, Creole and 24 other languages 65 Animists 30 Muslim 3% Christian
ECONOMY	GDP 62.7 million per person \$319 exports; copra, cocoa, fish, timber, palm oil Aid: \$99.00	115 million \$120 palm oil, peanuts, timber coconuts, hides and skins \$50 - \$55.00
SOCIAL INDICATORS	Life expectancy? Infant mortality 78 per 100. Rohinari figures 1947 - 1956 224 1957 - 1966 148 LITERACY - 9%	38 years    186 per 100 3%
HISTORY	Colony 85 years Independence: Trouble free.	500 years  14 years of violent struggle.

Probably the single most important difference between G-B and S.I. is the non-violent independence of S.I. and the 14 years of heavy fighting in G-B. Such fighting forms a different kind of thinking about problems especially development problems.

## 1. G-B development plans

Agriculture had to be the main development plan since more than 80 percent of the people were peanut farmers. In order to improve the quality of life of most of the people quickly, the government began helping village people by:

- (a) increasing the production of village, e.g., coconuts, cocoa.
- (b) seek different kinds of new crops, e.g., lemons, limes, oranges, village fishing;
- (c) increase the numbers of farmers in both cash crops and in new ones.

Whenever a project needed to be done in an area, the government educated the people to the political meaning of the project. For instance, if the area needed a Rural Trading Center, government people visited the area for months speaking to village people about their feelings towards having a RTC. It was not just a case of having enough money for the project but how hard the village people would work for it, how well they would support it. Only after months of talking, education and dialogue would the RTC project begin. Each project was seen as a chance of educating rural people politically to improve their lives on a material level.

The next most important development was in adult education. During the 500 years of Portuguese domination village people lost their love of the land and forgot their own history. At independence it was necessary to teach the people to once more love their land and know and appreciate their own history. This may seem an easy choice to make but you must remember G-B had only a 3 percent literacy rate in 1976. The government of G-B wanted the people to be politically literate rather than simply able to read or not to read. G-B thought that if a people are aware of the powers which affect their lives they would be in a better position to choose for themselves and less able to be dominated by others.

## 2. Obstacles

Bissau the big city of the country was a block to development plans. This city was not a service to the people and it taught the young of the nation to think of life more as one of buying and selling things and advancing themselves above others. To teach the city people to be a help to the country rather than helping only themselves, the government.

- (a) increased production and different products in the hanua
- (b) made it harder to go to Bissau, e.g., fewer ships, trucks, cars.
- (c) increased jobs outside the city of Bissau
- (d) increased quality of village life.

They put it this way:

VALUES ought to command POLITICS  
 POLITICS ought to command ECONOMY  
 ECONOMY ought to command TECHNIQUE

### 3. Lessons

- (a) People listen to and work with government when there's a real improvement in village living. When people see that government is really interested in the lives of the people in the hanua, the people's answer is one of work and sacrifice.
- (b) One of the most important ways of improving village people's lives is for government members to be in close and often contact with village people.
- (c) Each area should be treated equally. The city of Bissau should not be that much better than the rest of the country.
- (d) Teach the people to solve their own problems than trying to do it for them.

In conclusion, G-B saw development as one which worked in favor of the poorest--usually found in the village. The development policy was a structural change in favor of powerless rather than the powerful. Or example, bettering village life was not simply a matter of increasing money in the area but educating rural people for participating in the political life of the nation, by understanding their historical place, working for their own betterment and actively planning for their own future, e.g., RTC in an area. Cash crops were important but just as important was the communal work of changing village life. They understood well that merely increasing economic production will not automatically improve the village.

#### (c) Sarvodaya Movement

1. The Worlds "Sarvodaya Shamedana" mean 'the awakening of all society by the mutual sharing of one's time, thought and energy.' The movement wants the well being of all, and not only of the majority. This value is ignored by most countries, even in Sri Lanka where this movement first started. In 1950 a high school teacher in Colombo, the capital city, began it with a handful of people but which now number one million Sri Lankans in 2000 villages. Any activity which can grow from a tiny seed to a large movement, with no government support, must hold out some lessons for students of development.

The buddhist teachings are central to Sarvodaya:

There is a problem  
 There is a cause/reason for them  
 There is a hope  
 There is a way.

PROBLEM: underdevelopment, poverty, disease, no self-confidence, hopelessness  
 REASON : people powerless, unjust structures  
 HOPE : desire for improvements; not waiting for favors from politicians, or benefactors (grants).  
 WAYS : Organizing themselves: facing problems as a community; solving difficulties collectively; planning as a group.

At the beginning, students volunteers worked with people from hanua to build or repair village roads, to dig wells and sanitary pits. But the main work was on motivating (getting people to change their way of thinking) people to organize themselves. Thus work on the road became an opportunity to talk about village conditions (PROBLEM); the structures why these conditions remained so hard (REASON); thinking of alternative plans which might work, e.g., sharing labor and thoughts as was done while working on road (HOPE); and working up a good plan of action, e.g., youth leaders, R&D (WAYS). We did this very thing when Matara ni Tani Hospital was built:

PROBLEM: Government refused dresser, medicine and help to Hospital  
 REASON : Structural since CENTER would only recognize Maka and Kiu  
 HOPE : Sharing labor and thoughts while building Matara  
 WAYS : a) Started Anutaiasi plantation which led to village plantations  
 b) Pressure government to change structure and recognize Matara as well as Kiu and Maka.

## 2. Lessons

a) People - even poor, uneducated, powerless rural people are a country's greatest resource. However, people remain powerless until they are helped to action by a teaching which gives them pride in their own values, shows them how these values can arm them with tools for effective action and weld them into a strong community. A project, e.g., building a hospital, village water system, a plantation, becomes not only one which the people work at but one which works on the people: village people unite to do a project and the project unites them the more.

b) Because conflict, fights, disagreements are part of life, ways must be found to smooth matters out. In the Sarvodaya movement only non-violence is an acceptable way of working out fights. The world is sick; nations and countries just this year will spend 415 BILLION TO MAKE AND USE WEAPONS TO frighten, wound and kill each other. Any movement which successfully teaches people to overcome their conflicts in a non-violent way must be studied.

### (d) Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA)

1. Women in India have a very low position in Indian society. Poor women who are street vendors are even in a worse position. Some of them had no economic power: they would borrow 10 Rupees (Indian



money) from wholesalers in the morning and repay 11 Rupees come evening. They had to bribe policemen to be left alone. Worse still, they had no social standing and were treated badly.

Now, these same women have founded their own bank which has 10,000 depositors. Thanks to this bank, they can make cheap and easy loans to buy the things they had to rent. But more importantly they have gained enormous amount of self confidence which they needed to deal with authorities; police, bureaucrats, politicians--the CENTER STRUCTURE.

SEWA was the organization which gave the PERIPHERY (powerless women) a structure which helped them to grow from being powerless in many ways to strengthen themselves. Once economic power was possible (have their own bank) the political power came also, e.g., the newspapers were more considerate, politicians were more favorable to them. These advances allowed the oppressed women to demand and to get the public services, e.g., health care, education, which were usually denied them by the powerful before.

## 2. Lessons

People organize themselves not only to earn more money but also to become good at decision-making skills. These skills then help them to work with larger societies, e.g., this skill learned in a village committee meetings are a good preparation in an Area Committee or Province committee meeting.

Village weaknesses--little money, few structures--can be turned into strengths--no need to pay high salaries to leaders, easy to begin organizations. Thus a village is flexible in its dealings with the outside world.

### (e) Bolivian Peasants

In the Alto Vale region of central Bolivia, the peasant communities had really one crop--a protein-rich native crop called quinoa. But, leaders in the area knew that to keep the community healthy and growing other products had to be started. The villages started producers cooperatives: making special clay pots called ceramics. They wanted to improve the economic condition of all the people of the village and not just the members of the cooperative.

This decision came only after months of discussion. The very process of meeting together, discussing this problem and finally arriving at a very hard decision helped them later when technology became the problem. In ceramics, kilns which must keep temperatures hot and constant, are very important. They had to choose between kerosene ones and electrical ones. They choose the kerosene one because they could repair them while electrical kilns could only be repaired by people outside the village. The work put into organizational efforts paid off by making it strong for many hard decisions.

Economic development is tightly connected to political development of a people. The Bolivian Peasants understood well enough that their economic future.

#### A) PLANTATION WORK

Labor trade brought to Queensland between 1864-1908 almost 36,000 Solomonese, 9,000 of whom died before returning to the Solomons. Many also went to Fiji plantations until the plantations of the Solomons opened up to them. It's hard to estimate how many Malaita men were involved but it is estimated that 80 percent of the Solomon Island plantation laborers were from Malaita.

Although many Malaita men had plantation contact, few men remained away from homes for a long time. Yet, the contact with other people (Europeans, Pacific Islanders) as well as different Malaita men had an effect of uniting Malaita men together against the outsider. Plantation contacts strengthened the use of a common language--pidgin--but more importantly, plantation laborers had experienced white men's wealth and power and yet they chose to return to their own land.

#### B) CHRISTIANITY

Different Churches had strengths on Malaita;

Anglicans: Port Adam (started a school about 1890), Sa'a and had a strong mission influence.

Catholics: Rohinari, Tarapaina and Buma which were all begun between 1910-1913.

S.S.E.C. : Onepusu and its Bible School had strong influence on many small villages around Malaita especially Malu'u.

Both the Anglicans and Catholics were less rigid and tried to fashion traditional Christian elements into a unity. The SSEC seemed to generate an anti-European feeling into its interpretation of the Bible. For them, anything to do with the ancestors was "devel devils," and music, dancing and other things were stopped.

People became Christians for a mixture of reasons:

- 1) some saw the poverty and wildness of the old ways
- 2) others were more taken by the freedom of Christians
- 3) still some saw it a way to get the white man's wealth.

Of the three major influences, Christianity was by far the closest to the people and the missionaries most responsive to their needs. However of the three, the mission were from the economic point of view the



poorest and least powerful to that their influence on the other two powers--plantation and government--was limited. Even their development views were limited and shortened by their own internal weaknesses and mutual, rivalries.

### C) GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

Government efforts really began around 1909 and became effective in Malaita during Bell's time--1915-1927. Of the three major influences in Malaita, Government efforts produced the most changes.

- 1) Police broke the payback system of killings so that the power of the Ramo was completely broken.
- 2) Headman became the colonial authority in an area and were in conflict with a number of SSEC teachers. Government authority and church authority became a source of conflict. Both groups wanted a new world order but one which only themselves controlled not the other.
- 3) Administration structures: Bell divided Malaita into "passages" the old ports of call of the recruiters, sub districts had a Headman, each passage a Village Constable and a tax house which was a center of administrative activities which became a political model and structure for Ma'asina Rule. In fact although MR was mostly against government authority, its structure was much like that of government: a Head Chief for each Sub-District, a Full Chief for each passage, a communal meeting village for each "line."

### D) European Impacts on Malaita

It is difficult to understand what is happening on Malaita at present by simply studying today's events, limiting ourselves to knowing today's facts, e.g., young people leaving the villages for Honiara, modern life found in Honiara but no where else. Instead we have reviewed the major forces which have brought about these and other problems, issues and difficulties. In Solomons, the three major forces--plantation system, Christianity and government administration--introduced modernization: the transformation of Melanesian world as a result of increasing amount of knowledge dynamically translated into technology. Modernization has been evolutionary in that the basic structures and patterns of Melanesian life have been qualitatively altered. But this modernization in no way implies that the transformation and these new ways of acting are superior, better or mean progress or improvement. Neither does it mean deterioration or worsening. It is a neutral word which indicates deep, penetrating and fundamental change in a society, in Malaita society.

Modernization has been a gradually growing process. In any of its stages, however, it implies an intellectual, a technological, and a social revolution. In this study, we are concentrating on the social revolution brought about by the three great forces. Before the European, Malaita society lived as a unity. The roots of economic and social activity--land tenure, kinship structure and ancestor worship--were all linked together into the one and the same integrated reality. There was a high degree of integration among the various major dimensions of culture. Between religion and social structure, between social structure and economic organization, between economic organization and technology, and the magical and pragmatic, there were intricate and harmonious relations.

In other words Melanesian society had strengthening-STRUCTURES--collections of people, procedures and mental processes geared to the task of keeping the Melanesian definition of reality going. The plantation system, Christianity and government administration came and totally turned the Malaitan world on its head. In the old days, as individual who developed doubts about the truth of the Melanesian world, had official authorities, e.g., Araha, ramo, family, line, to help him eradicate his doubts. As long as all these strengthening-structures were in good health, society and certainly the individual had every good reason to accept conventional wisdom of what this world meant. The major impact of the Big Three was to gradually undermine the Melanesian religious-cultural interpretation to reality and begin the process of separating the individual from his society, for instance.

#### E. Malaita Unity Attempts

1. Much of what has been said, although not fully comprehended by Malaita people, was understood well enough to trigger a number of struggles against these changes. At first the Malaita response was armed confrontation, e.g., killing boat crews; when this was ineffective, retiring to the mountains, e.g., Kwaio people. Mr. Bell's death, can also be understood as the ultimate rejection of things European. However the tremendous reaction to Bell's murder, e.g., suffering and killing of many Kwaio people seared Malaitan consciousness so that they knew their conception of the world would never be accomplished by the use of force. However, the desire for a Melanesian life style dictated by themselves was never forgotten. It rose again in Ma'asina Rule.

#### 2. Ma'asina Rule

##### a) Wartime Period, 1943-44

Nori, Alik and other Malaita men were profoundly affected by the new world they experienced in Guadalcanal during those war years. Freedom from British influence and a re-birth of Malaita life controlled by themselves came out of much discussion and planning with American troops.

poorest and least powerful to that their influence on the other two powers--plantation and government--was limited. Even their development views were limited and shortened by their own internal weaknesses and mutual rivalries.

### C) GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

Government efforts really began around 1909 and became effective in Malaita during Bell's time--1915-1927. Of the three major influences in Malaita, Government efforts produced the most changes.

- 1) Police broke the payback system of killings so that the power of the Ramo was completely broken.
- 2) Headman became the colonial authority in an area and were in conflict with a number of SSEC teachers. Government authority and church authority became a source of conflict. Both groups wanted a new world order but one which only themselves controlled not the other.
- 3) Administration structures: Bell divided Malaita into "passages" the old ports of call of the recruiters, sub districts had a Headman, each passage a Village Constable and a tax house which was a center of administrative activities which became a political model and structure for Ma'asina Rule. In fact although MR was mostly against government authority, its structure was much like that of government: a Head Chief for each Sub-District, a Full Chief for each passage, a communal meeting village for each "line."

### D) European Impacts on Malaita

It is difficult to understand what is happening on Malaita at present by simply studying today's events, limiting ourselves to knowing today's facts, e.g., young people leaving the villages for Honiara, modern life found in Honiara but no where else. Instead we have reviewed the major forces which have brought about these and other problems, issues and difficulties. In Solomons, the three major forces--plantation system, Christianity and government administration--introduced modernization: the transformation of Melanesian world as a result of increasing amount of knowledge dynamically translated into technology. Modernization has been evolutionary in that the basic structures and patterns of Melanesian life have been qualitatively altered. But this modernization in no way implies that the transformation and these new ways of acting are superior, better or mean progress or improvement. Neither does it mean deterioration or worsening. It is a neutral word which indicates deep, penetrating and fundamental change in a society, in Malaita society.

f) Aftermath, 1950-1953

Government freed nine Head Chiefs who promised not to start up MR again. In return for this, Administration established Malaita Council, KG VI School and Native Courts.

3. Analysis of Ma'asina Rule

MR in its own way tried to address this issue: how to once more integrate life into a worthwhile whole so that Malaitan society and individuals within that society can once more have an integration as of old. The method used as seen in the doctrine was to help strengthening-structures of society, e.g., unite groups, Churches, Chiefs so that the unity of old would once more become apparent. Economic activity, e.g., reorganization of production, collective projects and payment of plantation workers, although important aspects of MR were considered in communal terms rather than individual. Most importantly MR was a structural change in favor of village people: collective bargaining and societal reorganization became the essential tools for re-establishing power in Malaita.

F. Modern Unity Attempts

Traditional structures which helped secure a future dominated by Malaitan's understanding of reality are completely shattered. Modern development schemes can be viewed as modern attempts to recover a unity and hence a power of over one's future. Although development planners rightly deary their competence of coming up with schemes capable of giving such unity, such a world view, still their basic assumptions run very much along that line. The method most favored in the Solomons is to concentrate on the economic well-being of each Melanesian household. If each household can increase its income, so it is reasoned, then all other major life-dimensions, e.g., education, helath, political, etc. will somehow fall into line. In the rural areas, cash cropping secures the necessary income while the urban areas resort to paid employment. Communal efforts in agriculture were applauded in the late '60s and early '70s but they proved short lived. Development efforts now concentrate almost exclusively on family/household levels and the major constraint on rural development is the individual family's inability to secure firm title to land.

A even more recent attempt for a modern day unity comes in the form of the political party. I find it more than coincidental that the three major political parties: United (Kenilore/Saemala), Alliance (Kausimae) and NADEPA (Ulufa'alu) are all authored by Malaita men. The political parties and their national leaders attempt to create a much needed nation consensus which would be a major step in securing a future dictated by Solomonese, not outsiders not locals with colonial thinking. It is felt that a national philosophy is a prerequisite for a strong self-reliant nation.

## G. Alternative View

### 1. Introduction

Economic considerations although essential to life cannot be equated with the whole of life. Development strategies and tactics should in their own way attempt to integrate life rather than be occasions of splitting the more society's vision. A development strategy favoring household-centered economics at the expense of communal values seems to split rather than strengthen society. We should search for ways whereby the community becomes a creative element for the future rather than hoping that selected households already blessed above most in a community by better education or easier access to land or connected with other forms of power, e.g., political and financial, be the entrepreneurs of a future favoring themselves.

Further, concentration of household-centered economics is not geared to the structural change needed to address the fundamental unity lacking in Solomon Island society.

A household economic development plan leaves structural inequities unresolved and the illusion of progress is fostered since a number of households are seen to advance; yet, a significant number of them, probably the majority, stagnate and/or decline. As a point of fact, certain sectors of SI society--elite, townpeople, land owners--are better cared for by the system than others, e.g., average village person. This better treatment is not simply a quick of the system which will eventually work itself out but a permanent slant built into the working of government (see pages 15-18). It's another case of the rich getting richer while the poor grow poorer. Since it is a structural inequity, solutions require structural responses. Development plans assuming household centered economics as a way of righting structural inequities is doomed to failure because it accents the differences between household rather than their similarities. SI households do not start off from the same mark; there are fundamental differences among them, e.g., land access, education, money which differences are aggravated by present concentration.

From another point of view decentralization, one of the major principles accepted for government activities, is undermined by a household-centered economics. The village sector which is vital to the proper working out of decentralization is the weakest unit in the theory. The major and almost exclusive concentration of economics, not to the village/community sector primarily, but to households limps as an adequate response to decentralization. To have it work as it's conceived a community has to speak with one voice and join its strengths and weaknesses to other village/communities in the areas. Government efforts should be aimed at strengthening as directly as possible those village structures, e.g., committees, organizations, clubs



which help create the atmosphere where public discussions of issues vital to the community take place. Economics are an essential element to any community but their discussions and implementation is within a context, e.g., cash cropping and its negative and positive impact on the community and not simply concentrating on their cash value.

Development is understood as a moral act. It primarily concerns the growth of a people materially, psychologically, spiritually and socially. Development should actively enrich and empower people, in short it's "people building." Over emphasis on any one aspect of human life, e.g., economics, religion, social, leads not to development but mis-development. But how should one work for development if it isn't exclusively economic? Where will economics fit in such a development scheme? Is such a development stance viable, really capable of preparing Solomon Islanders for the '80s and beyond?

## 2. Communal Development

As was stated before, traditional unity has been forever shattered but the building blocks for constructing a new one do exist. A majority of rural people live in community (usually villages) which have three important elements.

### (a) Social interaction

- human relationships are relatively personal, free, affective, familiar direct and permanent.

### (b) Communities

- customs and values relating to family, kinship and land
- fulfillment of personal needs (being with others), social needs (reconciliation) and to life crisis events (birth, growing up, marriage, illness, old age and death).
- all these factors create a feeling of security and solidarity.

### (c) Locality

- members of community are found in a certain clear geographical area. Although these elements are common throughout the islands why haven't they been more helpful in strengthening communities? One of the major reasons seems to be the model of community which many Melanesians have experienced: a few active members who do much for a passive majority. Secondly, a leadership model which stressed authority's power and privilege.

A community which accents the following elements will be able to work creatively in the '80s and '90s.

- sharing of responsibility not just a handful doing the work
- sharing of time, talent and possessions
- collective problem solving especially economic ones
- collective decision-making and action for the welfare of each member and group as a whole
- leaders who are able to listen dialoguing with the people to gain consensus rather than dominating the community
- ability to sustain communities during difficult periods.

A number of strategies to accomplish this task come to mind:

- although ideas, incentives and resources may come from outside the community, the leaders must be home grown, dedicated persons, "missionaries to their own people."
- individual leadership of old would give way to team work.
- communities as well as individuals persons of community should be given periodic and pertinent training near to home.

The obstacles to such a community forming, growing and becoming a positive influence in the lives of people are severe:

- many divisions have come in over the years: gambling, money, youth-old gap, migration to city.
- people find it easier not to get involved
- many who have assumed leadership do not understand it as one of service; not selfishness and striving for name and pocket.
- failures of the past can be difficult to overcome
- different lotus.

To render the idea of village/communal/Area development more clearly, a sample of specific developmental actions are listed below:

- (a) Intensive development of land, water, forestry and fishing resources for sustained yield, e.g., development of small livestock, pigs, poultry.
- (b) Water supply systems, mini-hydroschemes for electrification.
- (c) Improvements in inter-village transportation system as well as good transportation connections to Auki and Honiara.
- (d) Improvements in rural communications: radio, bus service, postal agencies.
- (e) Provision of basic rural social services:
  - schools: primary, secondary, adult
  - centers: resource, special training, research, cultural and recreational
  - services: health, child care, family planning

- (f) Agricultural centers for distributing implements, pesticides, fertilizers as well as training. These centers could also be buying points for produce, storage of these products in weather-and vermin-proof storages to be used for local sale and freezing facilities for local meat and fish.
- (g) Start of sanitation programs.
- (h) Formation of cooperative marketing services: Credit facilities.
- (i) Introduction of light, labor intensive industries aimed at the SI market, e.g., processing of agriculture goods like oil from crushed copra; crushing of sugarcane for coconut, banana jams, citrus cordials; local building materials, sago palm leaf, bamboo, vine, posts, wooden roofing slats, cement from coral; charcoal making for urban fuel; etc.

When a village/community begins to function as a unit and joins to other village/communities in an area, then specific developmental actions can begin. The Province directs its resources only to these Area Committees which have village/community participation as envisaged. For instance, if a village needs a water supply, simply producing the necessary 1/3 cash is not sufficient reason for the Province granting the remaining 2/3's requirement. When a village exhibits a communal and Area concern, e.g., VQLI is on a steady rise, local organizations are functioning well, there's local economic planning, strong linkages between it and other villages/communities, then the remaining funds for the water supply would be given by the Province. In other words it's not simply a case of securing enough money for social development but action, social action by cooperation with other village/communities. The whole enterprise of Province/Area Comments, e.g., increase of cash crops; copra, cocoa, cattle production, in each Area Committee would be negotiated for by each Area Committee which in turn would negotiate with its villages for a proportionate amount of the total. These in turn would then have an enforceable right for certain social benefits negotiated from Area Committee and Province Assembly, e.g., sanitation programmes. The individual, also in each village would be under an obligation, contracted if desired, which would bind each to deliver so many hours per month for village and Area Committee wide projects. Labor for village/area projects would act as an alternative to taxes, e.g., work rather than pay a tax. All, even the president of Province would have to give so many labor-hours to his/her Area Committee.



## APPENDIX B

### NOTES ON DEVELOPMENT WHEEL

During the whole Development Conference we ask village people to see development as an exercise concerning all of life: personal growth, material growth and social growth. Too much development talk and action has been about one thing--MATERIAL growth. We are trying to balance this idea by bringing in two other needed growths: PERSONAL AND SOCIETY.

A WHEEL figure is used to show that all three growths must come at the same time. A standard development answer for Third World nations is that material growth must come first before a nation (or a village, or a person) can have the other two. Our answer is that if all three do not grow well together, then there really isn't any progress for the nation, or the village or the person. A development wheel which has sharp edges (as was the case of some villagers who scored themselves) can never go far developmentally. The DEVELOPMENT WHEEL picture helps village people visualize the meaning of having a high score in one area of life while scoring low in another. At the end of the exercise when the Team Member shows the completed WHEEL, it becomes clear to village people (probably more than our words) where they are weak, where they must work hard to improve and most importantly, the necessity of going for all three growths at the same time to have a round wheel and not something with many sharp edges.

The WHEEL figure also shows how both the person and society are vital for development growth. Some think that the individual is the centre of development while others say the community is central. Our mind-set is to see persons-in-community and a community-of-persons as two sides of the same reality. Together (as in the WHEEL) they make one great human reality and their need to challenge, question, and interpret each other. When all three parts--PERSONAL, MATERIAL AND SOCIETAL--are growing well together, the village is truly developing as well as those in the village.

And this brings us to the most important part of the DEVELOPMENT WHEEL--its political meaning. Many difficulties in the rural areas come from decisions made by others over the lives of village people. A shift of decision-making from outside the community to within the community, means a shift in political power in favour of village people. If all (18) values are growing in a community, it means less power of others over the lives of village people. Such a total development (growth of 18 values) means that political power (a community publicly discussing issues vital to its life and shaping them to strengthen itself) directly flows from PERSONAL, MATERIAL AND SOCIETY growth since it means a more even balance of power between Centre and Periphery, a reduction in unequal power of Centre over Periphery.

## SCORING

It seems good to have a village divide into two equal but mixed groups. Each of the spokes of the WHEEL are marked with a dot from one (poor) to ten (best) as the village people mark where they think they stand on each part. Each person participating in the exercise (it takes about an hour) gives his/her mark from 1 to 10 on each item. The total number of each part is then divided by the number of persons participating and that mark is put on the line of each spoke. At the end of the scoring, all the dots are joined up together by a line to see how close the village line is to the wheel. When both groups in the village have completed their work, both scores are put together to give the village a picture-view of its development. By showing the completed WHEEL right after the exercise, the village persons has a better feel of what their village development is than many words spoken about it can give.

## A) PERSONAL GROWTH

This section is about being power--the kind of person someone is inside him/herself. Here we are interested in the inside of the person, not the things he/she owns. We are looking at those special things within a person which should always be growing. When these things are growing, the person is enriched; he/she is more.

1. Self-Respect

(Niracha paina aka maraka)

confident in one's own ideas and ability to set one's goals; having dignity, e.g., Aiki Nono'ohimac; not afraid of others' opinion.

Opposite: submissive, fearful

2. Self-Reliant

(noruto'oha aka maraka)

possibility of following one's ideas and plans by using one's own means, e.g., copra-making--planting, harvesting, making copra, selling--all done from people's labour, skill and know-how; not relying on others for one's living.

Opposite: dependent upon others for food, housing and living.

3. Personal Qualities

(sianaha inoni marana)

resourceful, humane, intelligent, strong character would be some of the qualities look for.

Opposite: poor self-picture

4. Identity

(o'oanaha)

person close to him/herself, close to others, his/her society and nature; person is not only an individual but relates well to others in society.

Opposite: replaceable; not sure of oneself, distant from others in community.

5. Security

(nuruto'oha)

the life and affairs of person are at peace; little anxiety, free of fear; life is usually certain, sure and stable; there is little violence in lives.

Opposite: fear usually, patterns of violence.

## B) MATERIAL GROWTH

This part is about having power; about the things a person needs (not what a person wants) to be more. This section takes in many parts of a person's material life, money included, but we want people to understand that all sections of material growth are important. Looking too much to one part, e.g., money, hurts the other parts of life.

6. Nutrition

(hanara siani)

daily balanced eating (root crops, vegetables and some kind of sea food or meat); not just staka food.

Opposite: too little food, or just one kind of food, e.g., potato

7. Shelter

(nima siani)

good house built off the ground and comfortable during rain and cool weather.

Opposite: house full of holes, too small, etc.

8. Health

(mauriha siani)

free of most serious diseases; village, family and person have a pattern of life which has few diseases.

Opposite: much sickness, e.g., malaria, worms, diarrhea.

9. Money (papa ni haka)  
 easy to earn money to buy things which are not made in the area.  
Opposite: must leave area to work for money.
10. Land Ownership (to'oana makano)  
 most village persons own land for growing food, planting cash crops and getting housing material.  
Opposite: land owned far from village.
11. Land Use (toiana makano)  
 garden land and housing material easily available to all in village.  
Opposite: land owners make it hard for others to use land for gardens.
12. Transportation (are ni ra'aha)  
 it is important sometimes to be able to travel quickly and cheaply, e.g., Auki for hospital, Honiara for business.  
Opposite: very difficult or expensive to travel to necessary places.
13. Communication (wate warana)  
 village person should have information on world which seriously affects his/her life, e.g., education, formal and informal.  
Opposite: most information by way of rumor.
14. Equality of Growth (painaha o'oana)  
 material growth parts are coming almost equally to all people in the village.  
Opposite: only a few in village are growing materially.

### C) SOCIETY GROWTH

In the first two sections of the DEVELOPMENT WHEEL, we looked at the growth of the person:

- a) growth inside the person
- b) growth of the things necessary for the person to be more.

Now we look at the growth between persons; those things which help society to grow. The first two parts are about the actor; this part is more about the structure of society. That is why this section will be the more difficult to explain but most important for village people to understand as necessary for their development as a people.

15. Participation

(toiha ha'inia ta'a marai)

most village people cooperate with others on almost equal terms; dialogue is possible and is the normal way of doing communal business.

Opposite: leaders do not seek others' opinion.

16. Solidarity

(ta'ai manataha)

village people share major values of society, and act from them; more sharing than taking; sharing of food and labor common.

Opposite: money is far more important than human relationships.

17. Autonomy

(okiraha ikia maraka)

community has strength over itself to be able to withstand what power others might have over it, e.g., see, understand and solve own problems.

Opposite: outside rules and ways more important than community's ways.

18. Equity

(siana ooana)

all parts of community benefit almost equally in an interaction, e.g., buyer and seller in village store. Structural equity--each part of community treated equally, e.g., woman feeds pigs and gets most of the money for them.

Opposite: taking advantage of others.

## CONCLUSION

These are some of the parts of life we have chosen to study to see if a village-going-to-community is really moving towards development or away from it. There are other things that could be used, e.g., working together on a project, to see whether a village is growing well or not. Our WHEEL is only an example, a way for a village to create its own

development wheel which may be more beneficial to them than ours. We look at human development (steady satisfaction of the needs of body, mind and spirit) and social development (man-made environment that should go with human development). If both parts are growing, then that society is going to be strong politically. It is able to participate in the public life of the nation, the life of politics. If one or both parts are not growing, then the political life of that community is poor.

## APPENDIX C

### NOTES ON MEASURING THE QUALITY OF VILLAGE LIFE

In the first VQLI we made it like the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) but this was too hard for village people to understand. Our goal is to have village people realize that much of their lives still are in their own hands and better village conditions depends far more on their own efforts (village organization, communal power, community work) than what others (government, province, area committee) could do for them. The VQLI is but one example we used during the Development Conference to get a village to go along the road to being and acting like a community. It is becoming more like a community when the public areas of a village, e.g., drains, rubbish removal, bush line, Health Committee, public meeting place, etc. are cared for. In our first VQLI, however, we saw that village people were much more concerned with their family affairs (60%) than with public affairs (50.6%).

We are not trying to prove one village is better than another but directing village people to study their village with a new pair of glasses. A VQLI says that if the public parts of a village life, e.g., sanitation, transportation are cared for, people have a high degree of working together in that village. However, if the public areas are broken down, not being cleaned/cleared, then that's a good sign that the people's relationship to each other is poor. In other words, a clean, well-kept village is not only a sign of a healthy (developed) village but more importantly it is a sign that the village is a community--a group of people living and working as one.

To make this purpose clear, a number of suggestions have been added to this new VQLI. Most of the new things are about the village level so as to direct people's energy to work on the public areas of life. It would be quite possible, for example, for a village to have a perfect score on children's things and yet have a poor health record because the public areas of life are not worked on.

The VQLI is only an example, a suggestion, a tiny picture, an idea. We are asking village people to use it as a starter. Just imagine if a village would take the VQLI and make up new sections for themselves, e.g., adult education and give completely different scores! We should be happy to see a village-going-to-community change the VQLI completely to evaluate their own situation in a different way: e.g., how well they care for their old people, handicapped (crippled, blind, mentally ill), those in need (sick children, poor). Certainly a village having a high score on helping those types of people in need have an excellent sign that they are becoming community.



Finally, the immediate purpose of our original VQLI (as with this one) is to begin to answer the question asked so many times at the Development Conferences: "What should we do to begin development?" We feel that when a village tries to get its act together by organizing itself around village life, it begins in a healthy, worthwhile way to develop. The VQLI can be seen as a tool for working on development projects: village X has a drainage problem while village Y has difficulty with no water. Each village has a different set of priorities which must be addressed by their own organizations. If the VQLI were scored, say every six months, it could act as an evaluation tool of how well (or poorly) a village-going-to-community is doing. In other words, the Index might become a tool of learning, for growing self-awareness (at communal level) and planning purposes. A village score on the VQLI is in itself a useless number! What could be important is the process that goes into a village doing an evaluation of itself and the uses made from the results of the evaluation.

## SCORING

The numbers we have on each part are but a suggestion of what kind of importance one thing has over another. We have found it helpful to divide a village evenly into two sections. As each part of the VQLI is explained point-by-point (it takes about an hour and a half to do the whole exercise), everyone--men and women--is asked to give a score on each part. Each person's score is written down and then the total answer is divided by the number of people who are doing the scoring. When both groups in the village are finished, the scores are put together and divided by 2 to give the village its score. Once again the score means nothing unless it is a help to village people to understand how to use the number to have a better life.

## VQLI - VILLAGE QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX

### Adult Well-Being

#### A) Village Level

##### 1. Drains SCORE (10)

To have dry area around village homes, a system of drains (not just one drain but a number of them coming together serving the whole village). These must be regularly cleared and repaired.

##### 2. Rubbish Removal SCORE (10)

Rubbish--peelings, coconut husks, house dirt, food scraps--are places where flies, roaches and other bugs live. To cut down on these pests, rubbish must be burned, buried, or thrown far away from the village. Throwing rubbish along the shore is not as good as dumping it in the sea.



3. Sanitation

SCORE (15)

Human waste, if not taken care of carefully, is a way big sicknesses begin to spread in a village, e.g., diarrhea, dysentery. This waste can be taken care of by burying it in deep pits, by sea latrines, septic tanks and other ways. Going to the bush or along the shore is a poor way of getting rid of this waste.

4. Water Supply

SCORE (15)

Abundant good quality fresh water is an essential part of staying healthy. Piped water seems to be the best way.

5. Trees and Bush Line

SCORE (15)

A village should have a few shade trees (other than coconut). The bush line (trees and bushes), however, should be far back from the village to give it breathing room keep mosquitoes away and rats from easily coming into the village.

6. Animals

SCORE (05)

Certain animals are needed: cats for rats, dogs for pig hunting and guarding but their numbers (especially dogs) must be controlled. Other animals: pigs must be penned up always and chickens and ducks penned up during the night and a good part of the day.

(70)

B) Family Level1. Housing

SCORE (15)

Homes built off the ground and comfortable during rainy and cool weather are necessary to good health. Ground level homes are more difficult to keep clean. Homes big enough for the whole family, strong and in good condition (no leaks or holes) should be scored near 15.

2. Kitchen

SCORE (10)

- open fires lose much heat and fill kitchen with smoke which hurts health. A simple stove with fuel should be in every kitchen.
- food safe - to keep food safe from roaches, flies and other bugs each kitchen should have one food safe.
- cook pots - each kitchen should have 3 to 4 different sized cook pots.

- eating things - plates, cups and spoons for most adults in the family.

### 3. Personal Goods

SCORE (10)

- Clothing as a minimum for each adult.
  - 2 sets for garden work
  - 2 sets for ordinary village work
  - 1 set for special times
- one's own sleeping mat, pillow and covering
- clothes cleaning material: soap, bucket, clothes line
- box/case to keep clothes clean, away from bugs

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(35)

## CHILD WELL-BEING

### A) Village Level

#### 1. Health Committee/Group

SCORE (20)

Some women, organized into a committee, should be responsible for general health in a village. Infant sickness--diarrhea, malaria, dysentery and others--are deadly serious for small children and easily spread to others. A village health committee could work on such problems.

#### 2. Health Education

SCORE (20)

Certain sickness need immediate help, e.g., diarrhea makes a child lose much liquid and it is necessary for the mother to help the child quickly. But the mother needs to know what to do! Village health education, e.g., 2 to 3 health courses/ classes each year in a village, is the work of the Health Committee.

#### 3. Transportation

SCORE (15)

In certain sicknesses the Health Committee should be able to use some type of transportation (outboards, truck, tractor, canoe) to get medical attention quickly.

4. Medical Box

SCORE (05)

Bandages, antiseptics, aspirin, first aid material should be available to families which run out of their own and it could be controlled by Health Committee.

(60)

B) Family Level

1. The first 12 months of a child's life are very difficult ones because of the dangers of serious sicknesses and accidents. Extra parental efforts to guard a young life as well as buying extra things is important. With this in mind, the following items seem necessary:

- a) mosquito net for small children (5)
- b) first aid box with bandages, antiseptics, aspirin, etc. (5)
- c) beds off the ground, sheet or other cover (5)
- d) clothing - sufficient and warm enough during the cold and rainy weather (5)
- e) plates, cup and spoon for each small child (5)
- f) torch and/or kerosene lamp for quick use in case of emergency and in accidents at night (5)

2. Class/Study

Many of the most serious sicknesses, if treated quickly, will be finished quickly. Nursing mothers and newly-married women should go to one or two of the health classes offered by the Health Committee each year. This way they will become aware of the early signs of serious sicknesses and the ways of curing a child quickly.

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL WELL-BEING

A) Village Level

Organization: In order to get public works, e.g., drains, rubbish removal, sanitation started and continue some kind of special group (can be called a committee, council or organization) is needed to check if the village work is done and how well (poorly) it is done.

1. Meeting Place

SCORE (15)

A sign that a village is growing towards community is having a special house, as a meeting place for all adults in the village; a place where the Village Committee meets, plans and evaluates its work, a place where the Village Committee meets, plans and evaluates its work; a place where different groups--Women's Clubs, Youth Clubs, Health Committee--can meet for their work.

2. Budget

SCORE (10)

Another important sign of a good Village Committee is MONEY for the Committee to use. For example, it should be able to pay fares of a person whom the Committee feels could help the village, e.g., Planning Officer to explain latest Development Plan.

3. Education

SCORE (15)

One of the most important things a Village Committee should be doing is getting the village people to learn and understand more about the world and how it affects their lives, e.g., our Development Conferences, study and special courses held in the village.

4. Tools

SCORE (10)

Village level works need special tools which are usually too expensive for families; picks, shovels, digging bars. Also there should be a special house to let visitors sleep and stay while they visit, teach, work with village people.

(50)

B) Family Level1. Personal Tools

SCORE (15)

To make sure village people remain as nearly self-reliant in food and housing, personal garden tools (bush knife, axes) home building tools (hammer, saw, plane, chisel) and fishing and hunting gear should be in each family.

2. Family Garden

SCORE (20)

Most food must come from one's own garden and not from the local store. A village should be more self-reliant.

3. Chicken/Pigs/Ducks

SCORE (15)

Each family should have a kitchen pig (in a pen behind the house or over the sea) to be fed with food scraps. There should be many chickens/ducks in a village to supply eggs and meat often for villagers.

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(50)

## SUMMARY

Yesterday we did the DEVELOPMENT WHEEL which asked the people to understand development in theoretical way. We spoke about relationships between people; about political growth coming through PERSONAL, MATERIAL AND SOCIETAL growth. The VQLI on the other hand tries to make all of the Development Wheel more practical: what all this development talk could be if it were put into action right in their own village. For if a village can't put its new knowledge and understanding to practice right where they live their daily lives, in the village, then development will just remain just so much TALK.

APPENDIX D  
DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

FIRST DAY

Morning

8:30- 9:00 First Talk: WHAT  
IS DEVELOPMENT

9:00-10:00 Small groups  
discussion

10:00-10:30 BREAK

10:30-11:00 Second Talk: TOTAL  
DEVELOPMENT

11:00-12:00 Small groups  
discussion

Afternoon

12:00-1:30 LUNCH

1:30-2:00 Third Talk: DEVELOPMENT  
VIEWS OF OTHERS

2:00-3:00 Small groups discussion

3:00-3:30 BREAK

3:30-4:00 Report back to Big  
Group

4:00-5:00 General Discussion in  
Big Group

SECOND DAY

Morning

8:30- 9:00 Fourth Talk:  
DEVELOPMENT IN  
SOLOMONS

9:00-10:00 Small groups  
discussion

10:00-10:30 BREAK

10:30-11:00 Report back to  
Big Group

11:00-12:00 General discussion  
in Big Group

Afternoon

12:00-1:30 LUNCH

1:30-2:00 Fifth Talk: DEVELOPMENT  
IN OTHER COUNTRIES

2:00-3:00 Small groups discussion

3:00-3:30 BREAK

3:30-4:00 Report back to Big  
Group

4:00-5:00 General discussion in  
Big Group

## THIRD DAY

Morning

8:30- 9:00 Sixth Talk: SUMMARY  
& WHAT WILL YOU DO

9:00-10:00 Small group discussion

10:00-10:30 BREAK

10:30-11:00 Report back to Big Group

11:00-12:00 General discussion in  
Big Group

Afternoon

CONFERENCE FINISHED

Open discussion with Mobile  
Team if wanted.

APPENDIX E  
DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP TALKS

FIRST TALK: WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT

1. Importance of workshop; first of its kind; preparation for the 80s and 90s.
2. Not just more facts but a change in thinking; awareness of the problem, and some answers to the problem; for you and your children.
3. Development:
  - definition: slowly given and explained carefully.
  - each of the sections taken, e.g., process, for and by people, etc.
  - give many examples especially from District and from every village if possible; e.g., hospital, village farm.
4. Development, what it isn't, e.g., economic answers given by Government.
5. A little hint at what the next talk will be so they will want to return.

SECOND TALK: TOTAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Full development rather than rural development since development is for all people, in the village as well as the town.
2. Need to see development in personal terms, personal growth.
3. Usually personal growth depends upon resources so they have to grow as well.
4. The hardest to explain (and this is at the heart of our Conference and training) is the position growth/structural growth. Probably much time must be spent in explaining this part. USE EXAMPLES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.
5. Introduction to the Development Wheel but with plenty of examples.

THIRD TALK: DEVELOPMENT VIEWS OF OTHERS

1. Different views of development; based on the ways people look at the world.



- European way: do not stress this too much since most of the time must be spent explaining how the Melanesian looks at his world.
  - Melanesian before the European, now and especially in the future.
2. Because of this world view, which is world side, we have a CENTER and a village. Probably better to say village than Periphery since it's such a new word.

#### FOURTH TALK: DEVELOPMENT IN SOLOMONS

1. What has happened in the Solomon Islands over the years because of this development plan.
  - Results in Honiara and in Taboko/Verahue; using examples from the very village one is in would be more effective.
2. Make it clear that these results are not because leaders are bad people but the system is structured that way. Changing the politicians is not enough. There must be a change in the system. Preparing them to think how they can participate in the changing.

#### FIFTH TALK: DEVELOPMENT IN OTHER COUNTRIES

1. All the examples from other countries is to help the village person to see his own village problem clearer and the answers clearer too. The point is not to give a geography lesson but to help see SI difficulties as ones shared by others.
2. Introduction of the VQLI as a lesson plan for the village; ask them to help in working out the final mark for the village and teach them to use it themselves.

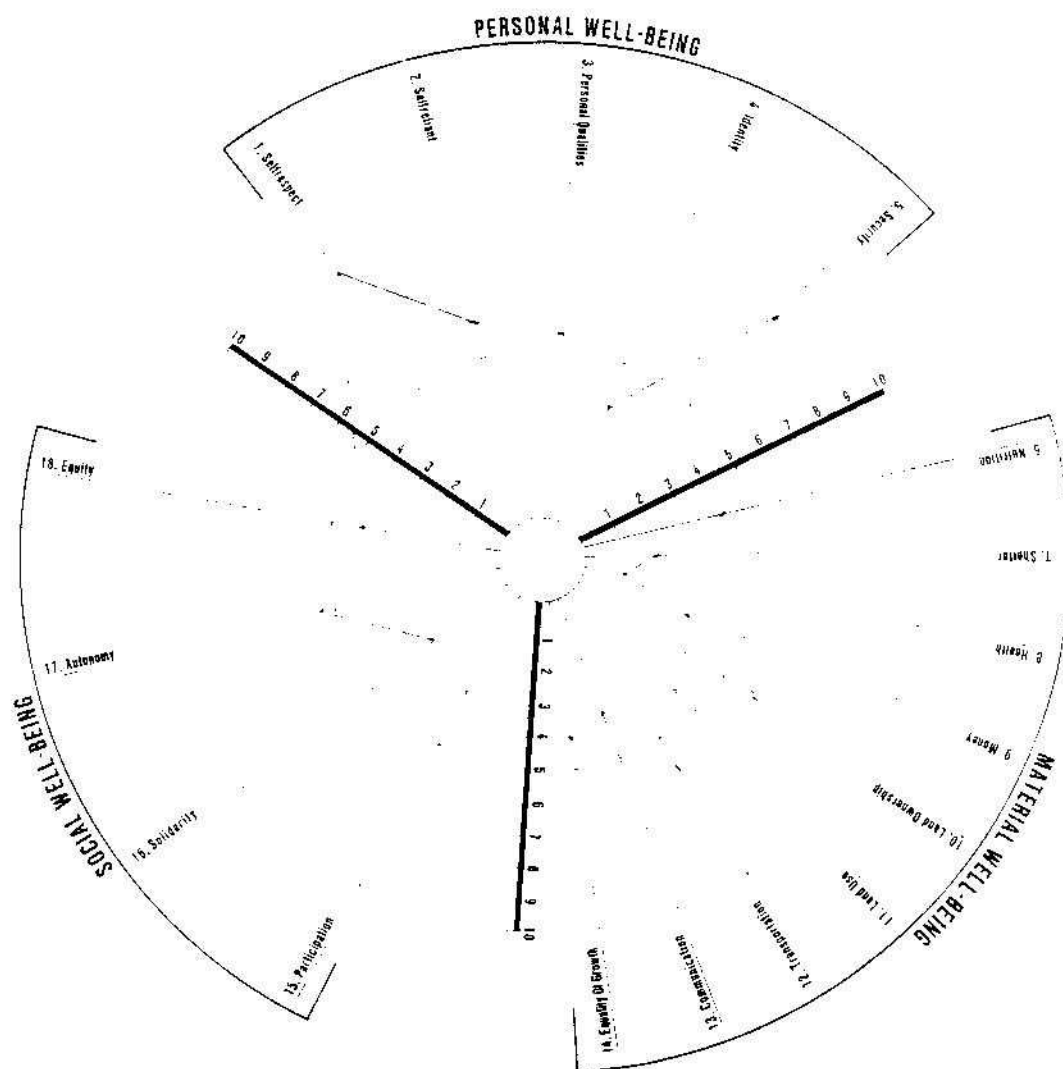
#### SIXTH TALK: SUMMARY AND WHAT WILL VILLAGE, DO?

1. Place of Ma'asina rule and development; stress how it was a structural change not merely leader change.
2. Review the Conference goals once again: to help village become a stronger place to live now but especially in the 80s and 90s.
3. Goal is within the power of village because an organization started by the village with the use of the VQLI, economic survey and Development Wheel is available. The Mobile Team will be back to help at least some members of it.

# APPENDIX F

## DEVELOPMENT WHEEL SCORES

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL

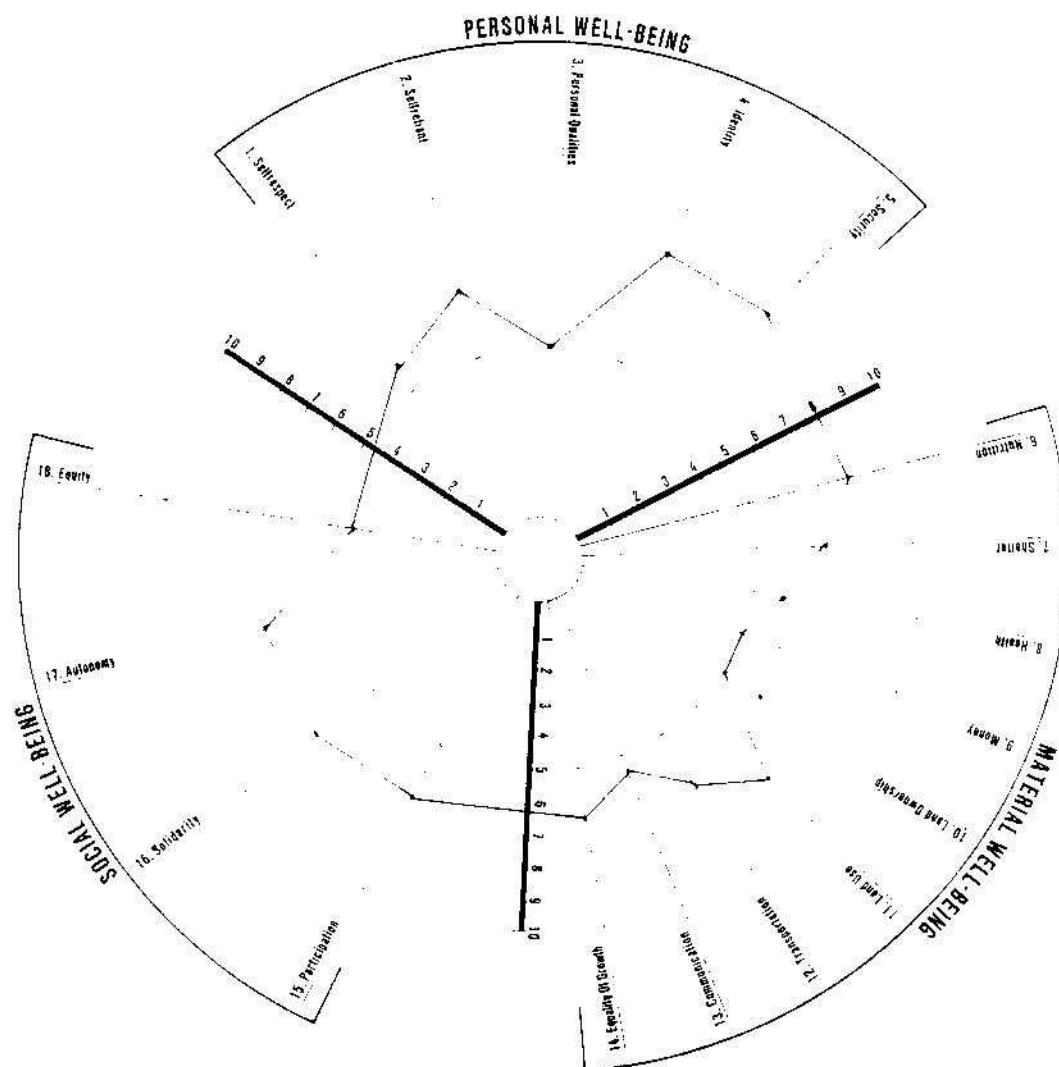


VILLAGE Aranimamu

DATE 10 September 1980

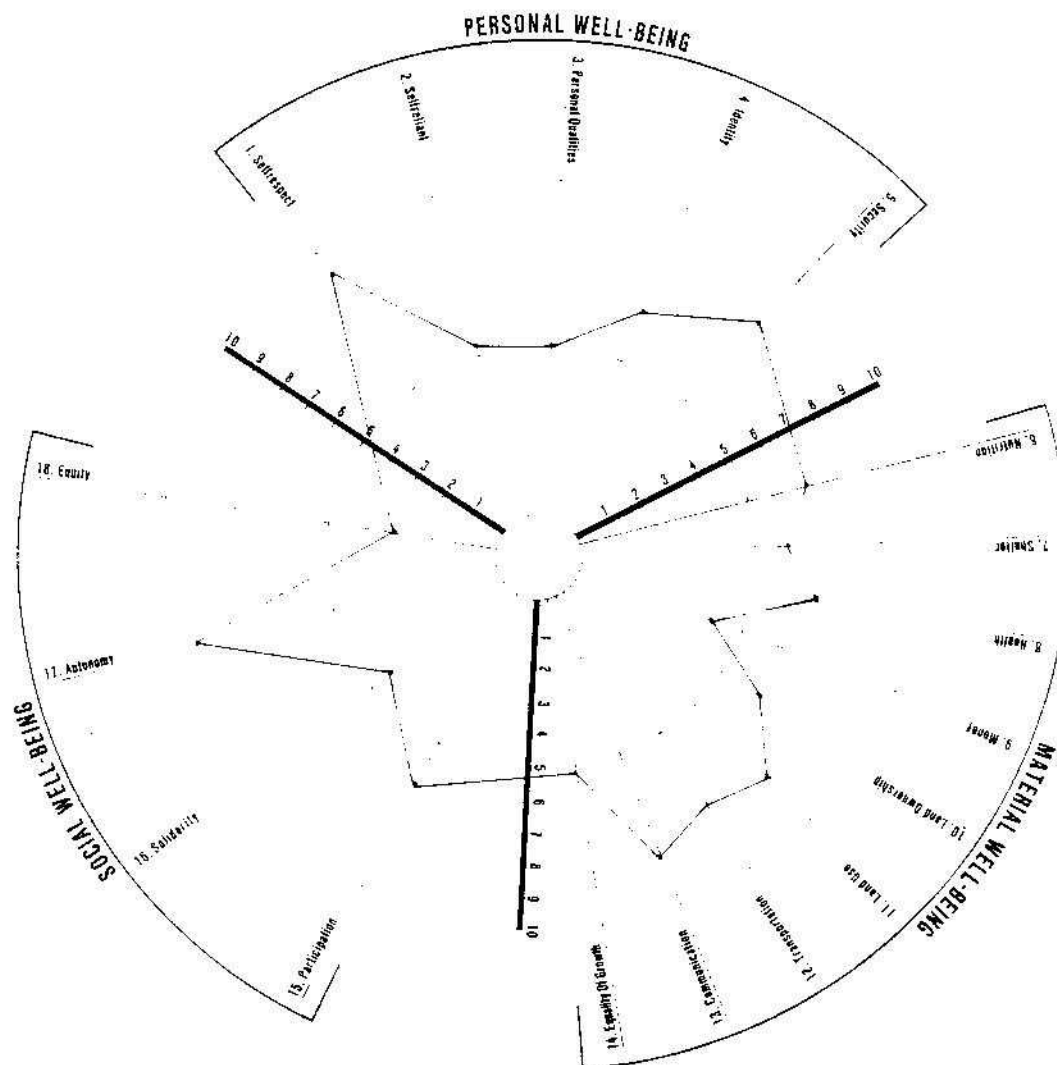
NO OF PARTICIPANTS 27

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



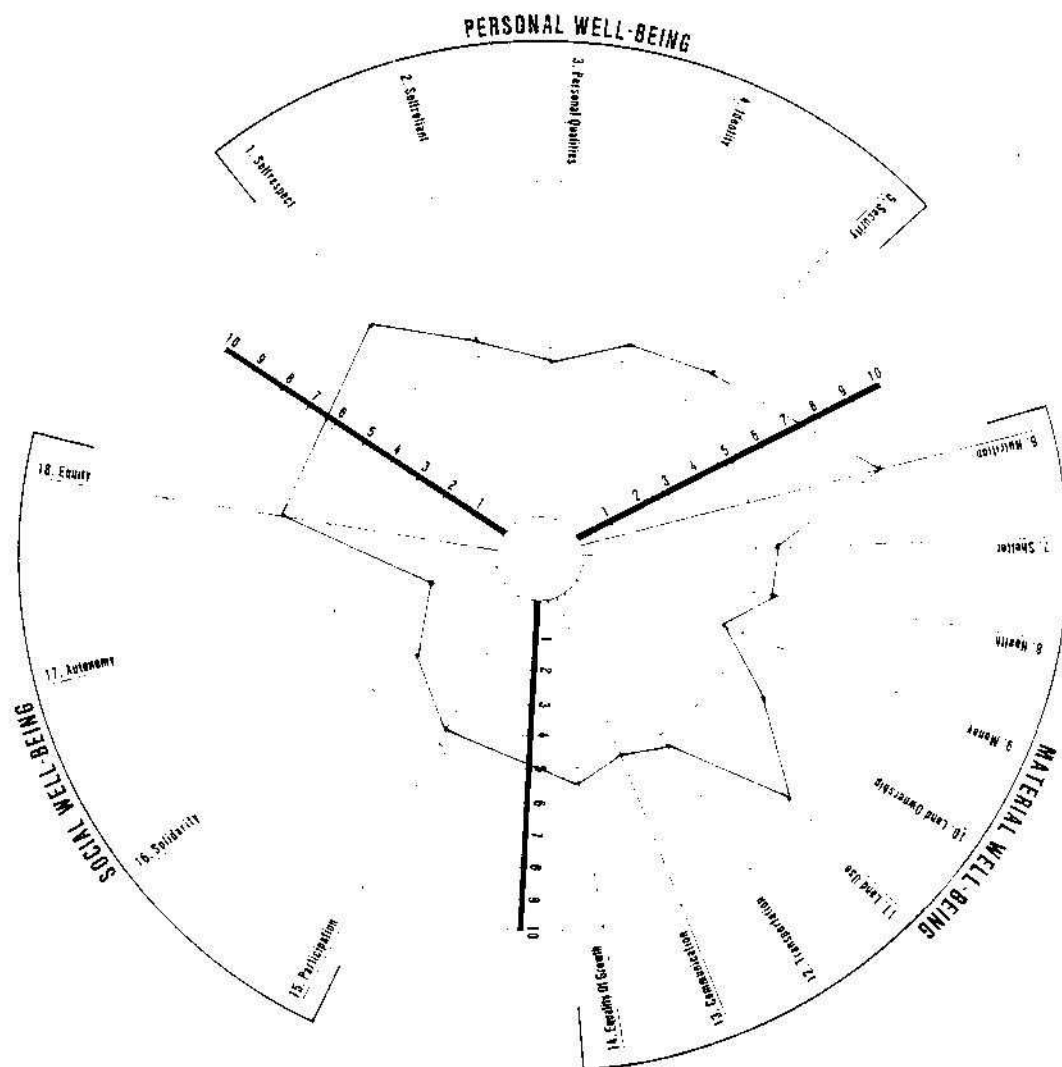
VILLAGE Pipisu  
 DATE September 10, 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 41

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



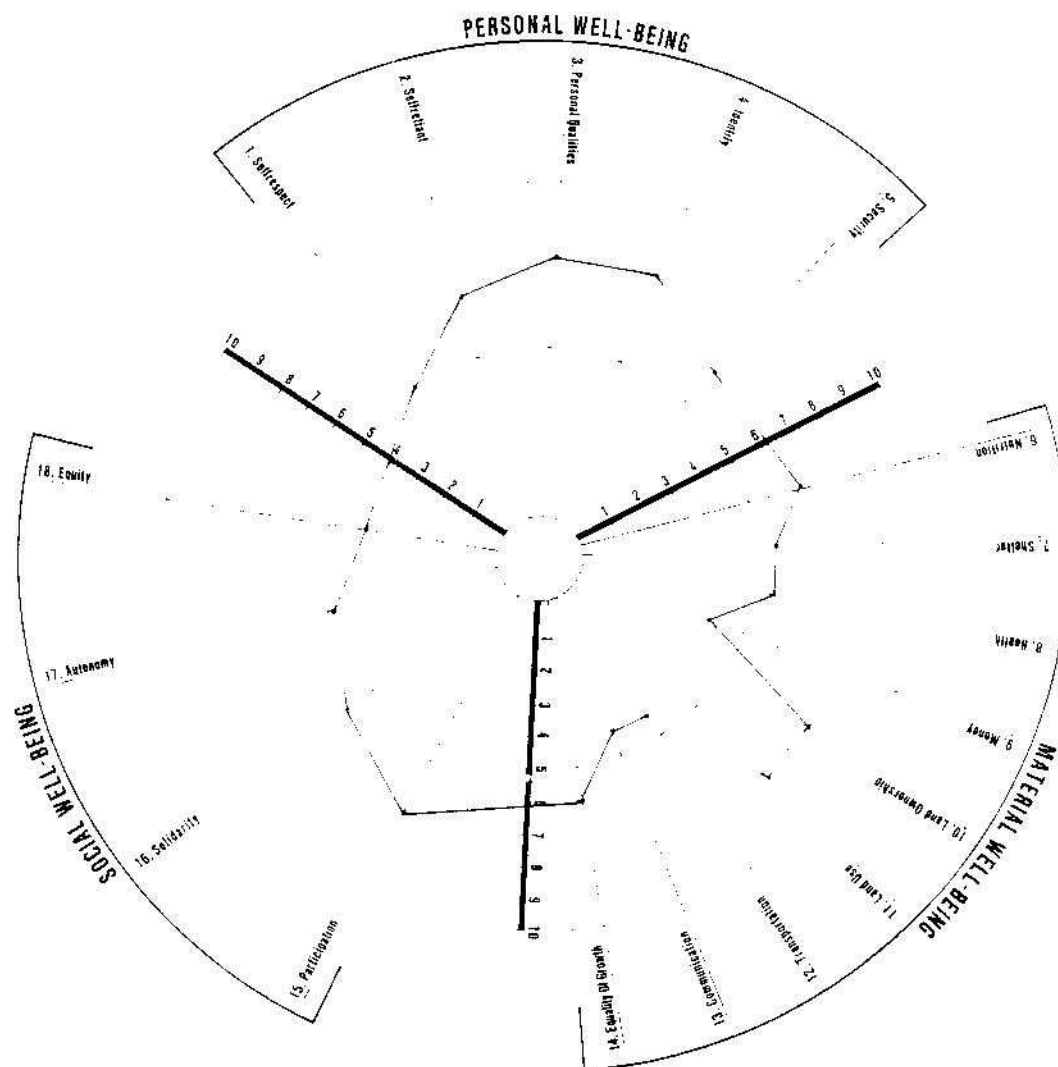
VILLAGE Ai'ari  
 DATE 17 September 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 23

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



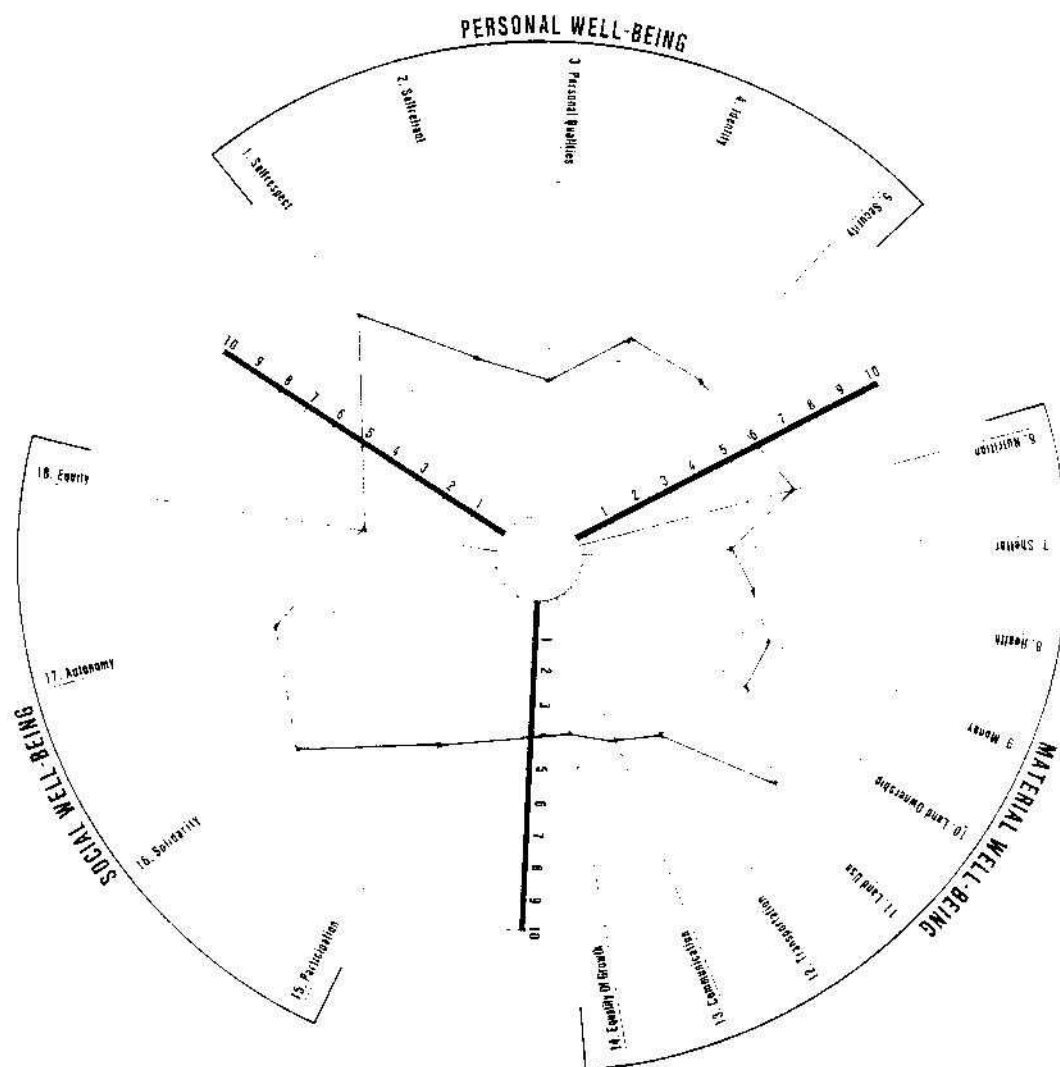
VILLAGE Nariekeara  
 DATE 17 September 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 83

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



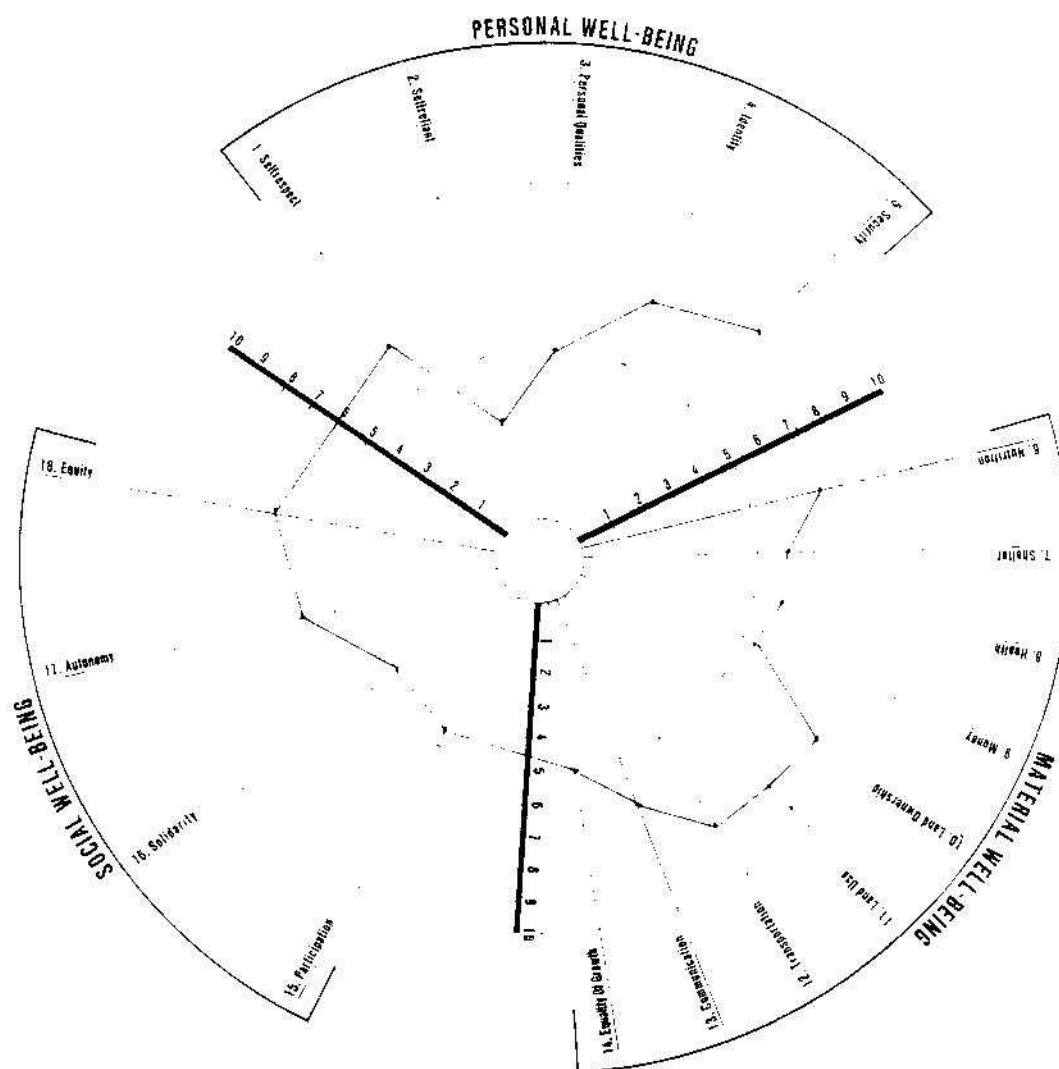
VILLAGE ..... Harumou .....  
 DATE ..... 23 September 1980 .....  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS ..... 21 .....

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



VILLAGE Sisiomato  
 DATE 24 September 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 47

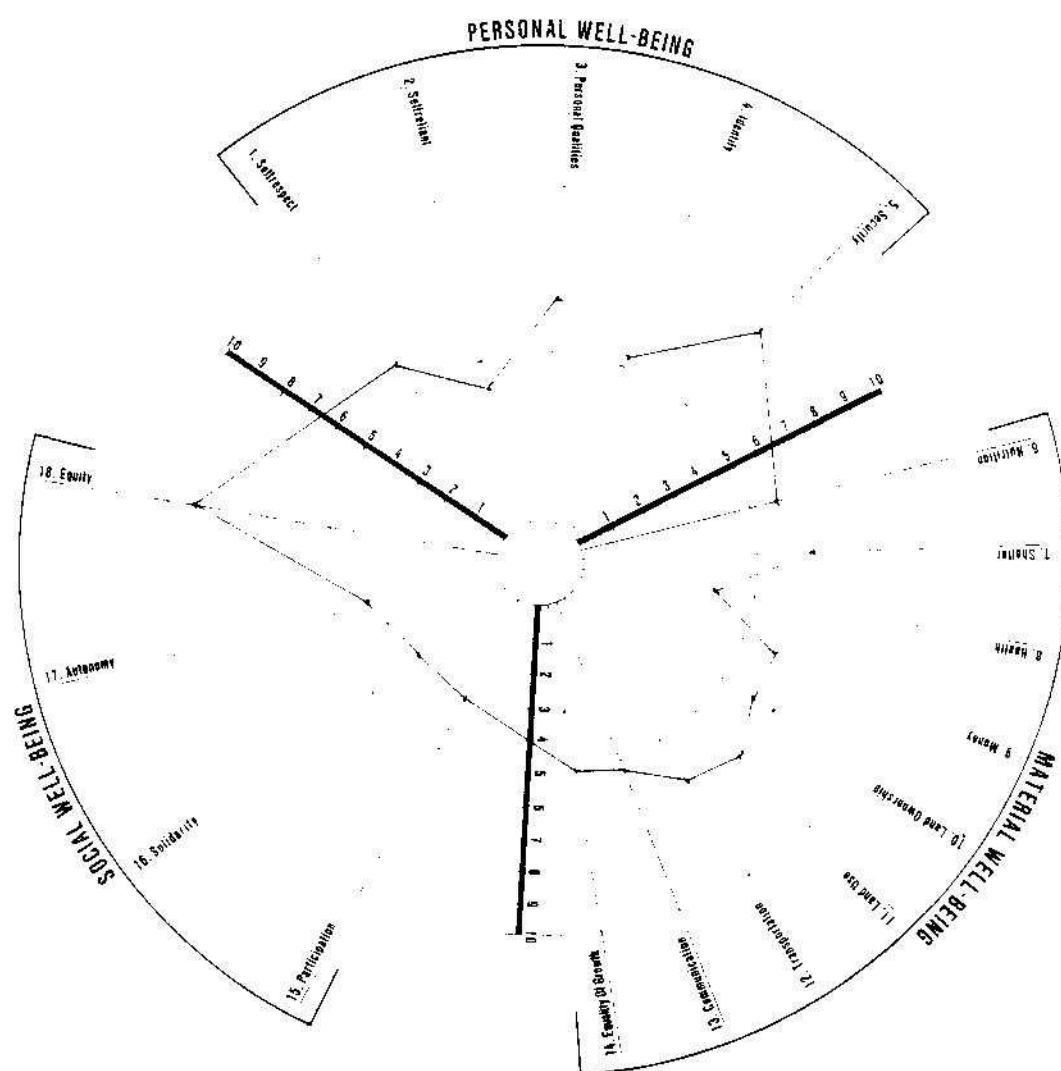
# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



VILLAGE Rutorea  
 DATE 3 October 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 65

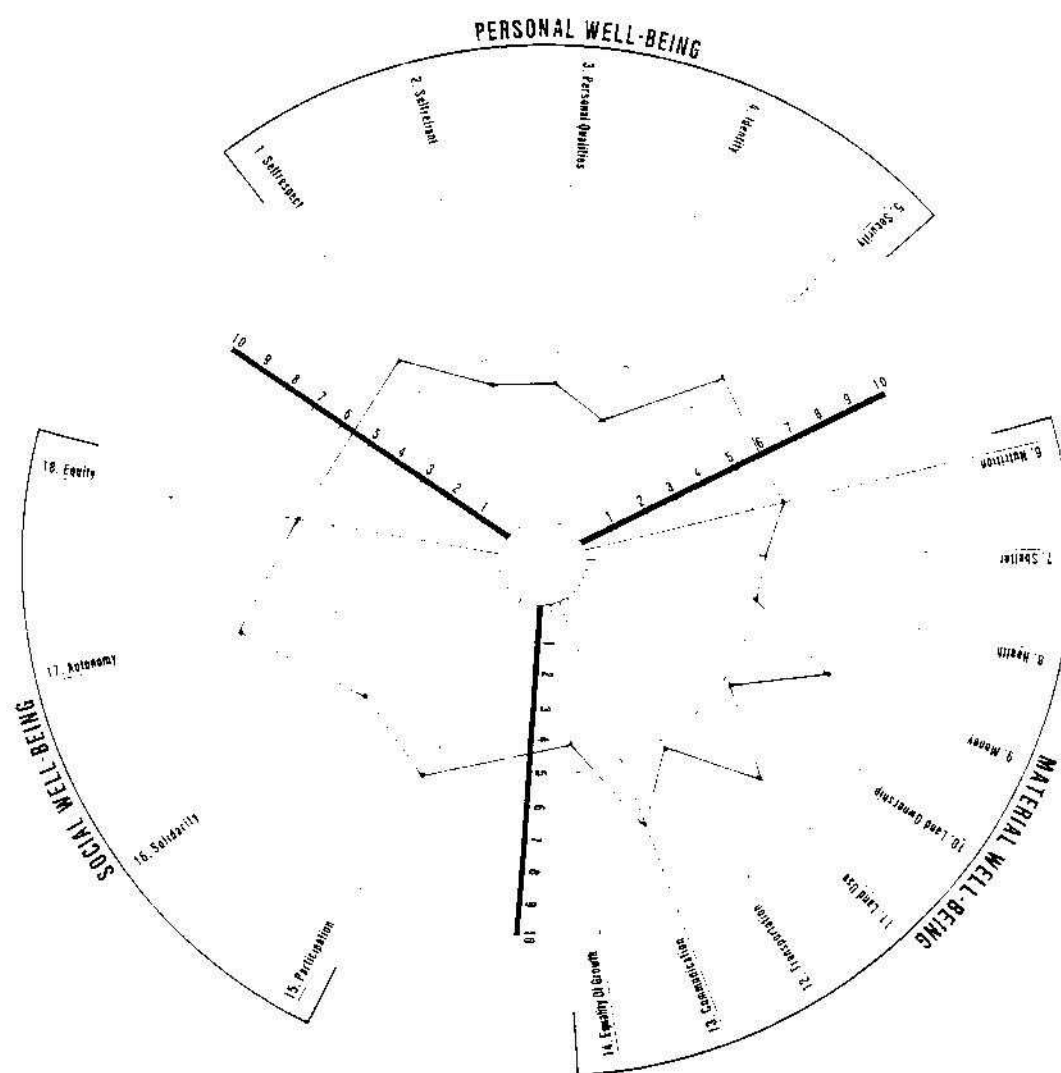


# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



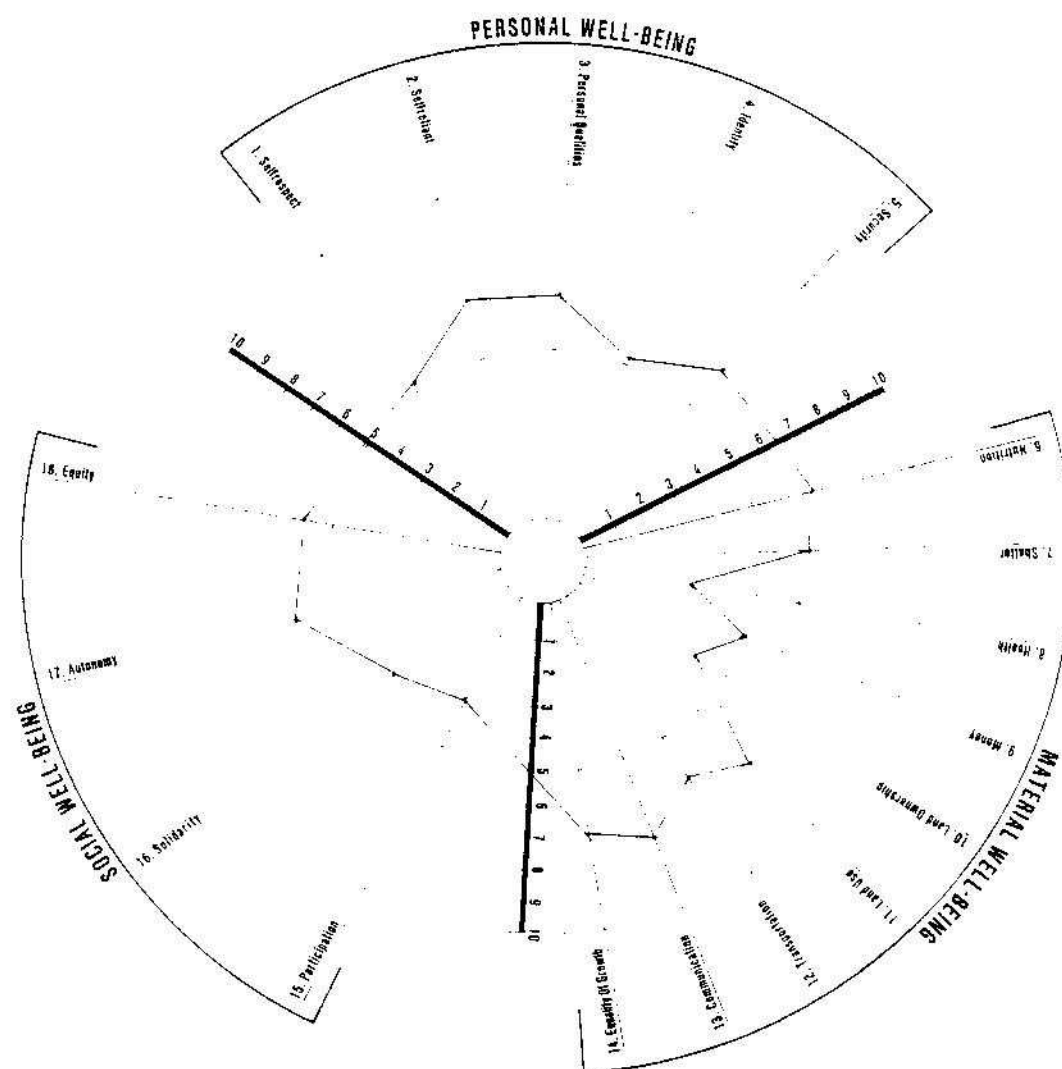
VILLAGE Hauragre  
 DATE 3 October 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 25

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



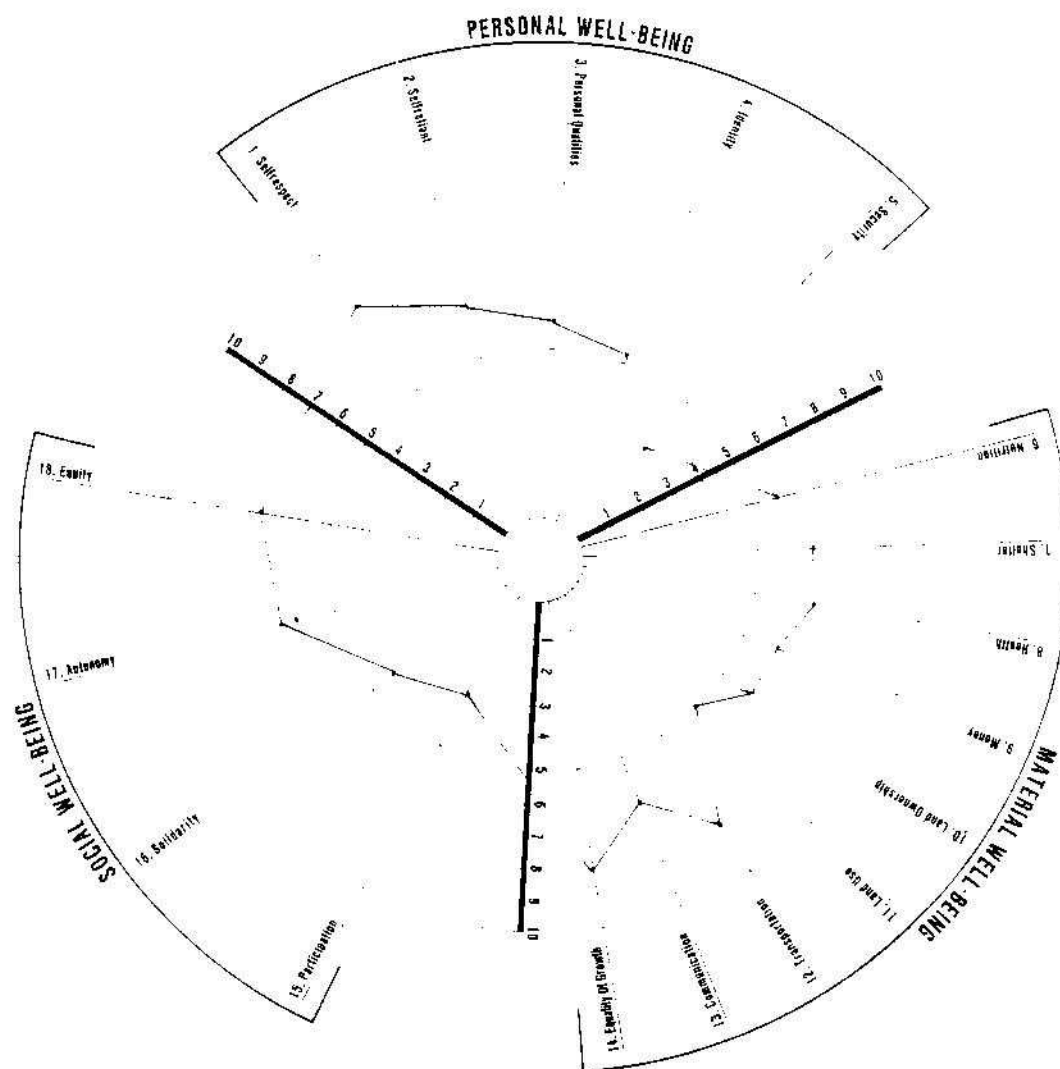
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 DATE 3 October 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 46

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



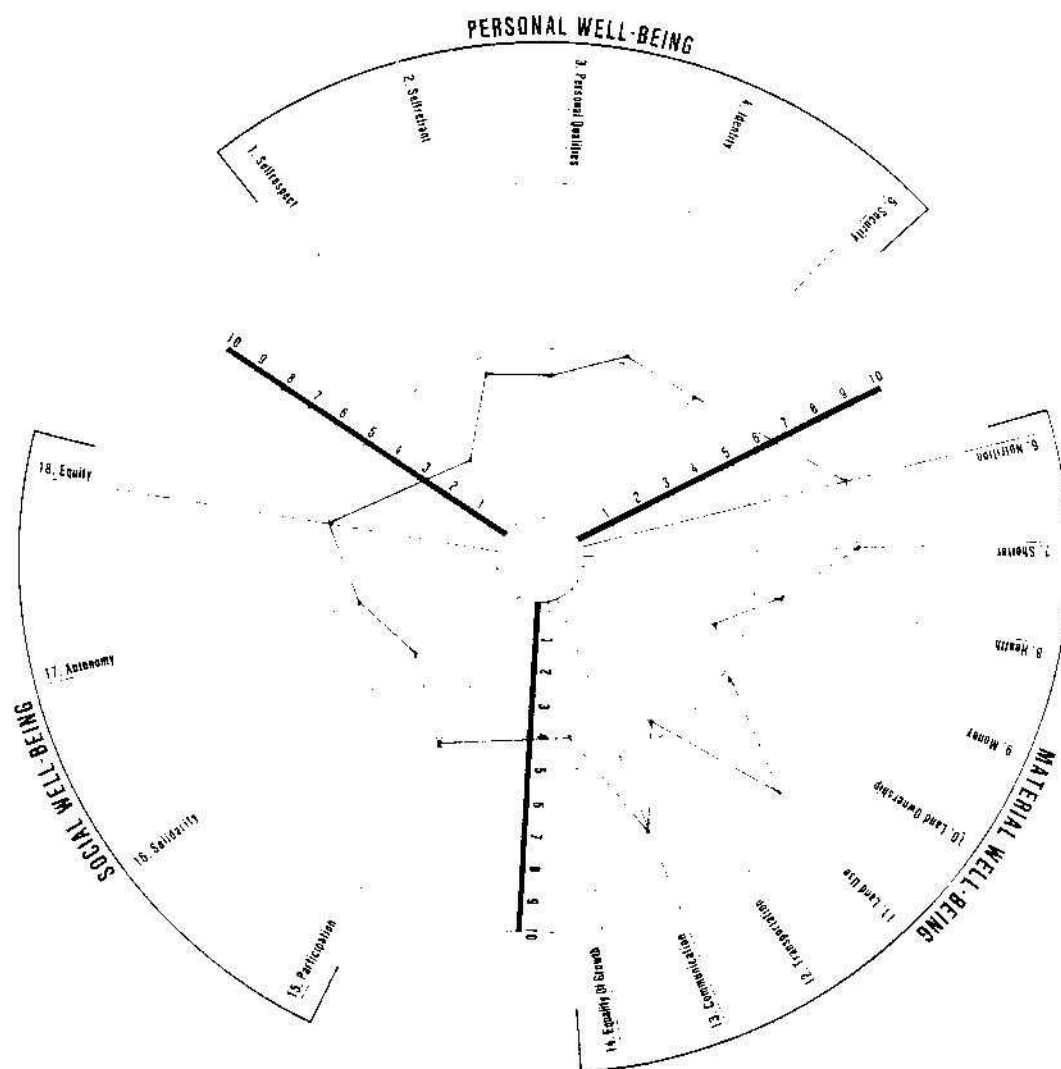
VILLAGE Kopa  
 DATE 10 October 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 63

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



VILLAGE ..... Kiu  
 DATE ..... 10 October 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS ..... 75

# DEVELOPMENT WHEEL



VILLAGE Wairaha  
 DATE 17 October 1980  
 NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 19

## APPENDIX G

### STATEMENT OF RESOLVE OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT TRUST

Planning, writing-up and implementing of projects has become a full-time occupation for a number of rural people. In fact it is a way of life for some. The number of villager-level projects either in the planning stage or already actually underway has grown enormously over the years. There is growing conviction in the minds of villagers that the project is, if not the only path to development, certainly the most important one. This assumption is shared by government and funding agencies alike. However, many projects are not heralding in a new way to enhance village life so desperately needed in the rural areas. Instead the project-as-development syndrome has complicated a number of rural issues: results include an increase in village decay, growth of the generation gap between young and old and diminished quality of rural life.

The Solomon Islands Development Trust (SIDT), a newly formed local development agency, needs to clarify for itself as well as for others its role and approach to development. Is its main function simply to link overseas funding bodies with village people? Or does it intend to concentrate its energies in raising funds and accept without question how these funds will affect the village community? Or will its position encompass some of these aspects and more? The role of SIDT will include questioning the conventional development wisdom, raising the consciousness of both development donors and recipients concerning local development issues and creating conditions where alternate development visions and actualities can take place. To raise these issues indicate how SIDT wishes to view its place in the Solomon Islands' development scene. Thus, as a new development institution, SIDT intends to carve out an identity for itself which clearly distinguishes its role in development.

Although the Solomon Islands Development Trust concedes that the planning, writing-up and implementing of projects holds an honored place in development strategy, it further understands that any project should be viewed as part of a whole system.

Rather than focusing almost exclusively on an individual project proposal like a cattle scheme, or a village water works or a cocoa plantation SIDT will stress the linkage of the proposed project to the village life-systems which will be affected by the proposed project. To insure a proposed project's effects on village life are overwhelmingly positive and only minimally negative, SIDT will submit each and every project to scrutiny. In practical terms this means evaluating how does an individual project affects the quality of village life. Why focus on the village? The overwhelming majority of Solomonese (up to 85% of the total population) live in a village setting. It is in that setting they

live their formative years, grow to maturity, raise families and finally, retire to in their twilight years. It is the one area of life, outside the immediate family itself, which exerts the major formative influence on Solomon Islands people. We, the SIDT Trustees, firmly believe that our development efforts and resources must focus on strengthening the village. The primary focus of our work-- strengthening the village--will be the prism through which development resources will be directed, measured and evaluated.

To this end and in order to use our development resources, both human and financial to their fullest potential, SIDT will require the clear and direct linkage of project to enhancing the quality of village life. Secondly, SIDT feels that no project, no technology, no technique of itself automatically generates development. Each of these items can be a tool for communities and persons to reflect upon what is happening and where they are going but this reflection, analysis and understanding does not come about without conscious human effort to make it happen. This is the kind of on-going adult education which SIDT will look for in its study of acceptable projects. In other words each project will be studied as part of a package, a programme.

The whole package--the project itself, its links to village quality issues and on-going adult education--will be considered as part and parcel of one programme. A community project holder will attract and retain development funds by not only acknowledging the close connection of the project with village quality issues and on-going adult education patterns but he will also actively incorporate these aspects into the whole project.

This linkage idea is not new to the Solomon Islands. Traditionally village projects like the marriage and death feasts and communal gardening were firmly integrated into village living. If anything, SIDT's firm insistence that project development be integrated into improving the quality of village life and enhancing adult education opportunities is really stealing a page out of village history. Perhaps the only new thing about connecting them all together is that a local development body, the Solomon Islands Development Trust, demands that this linkage be a fundamental part of the development process as well.

SIDT's insistence is viewing individual projects as part of an overall village programme is an attempt to re-introduce as integration sorely missing in many modern development efforts. Village stores, ship projects and even communal cash cropping schemes in these islands have so often failed to live up to their obvious development potential for rural people. In some cases the fault can be laid at the feet of mismanagement, of poor cooperation between donors and project holders and in rare instances, laziness. But the history of Solomon Islands' projects indicates that they suffer more from being unfocused, discrete and uncoordinated efforts by development bodies, change-agents and the people themselves. SIDT wishes to re-introduce a unifying focus in development efforts--the formation of strong villages. Clean, tidy and healthy villagers are the first step in securing a strong village.

Local organizational efforts, village economic viability, adult education and political awareness are also necessary steps to achieve the goal of becoming a strong village. Inter-village cooperation, area council coordination, and direct government village investments begin to round out the idea of what SIDT means by development focus centering on creating strong villages.

In order to put flesh and blood on the bare bones idea of what SIDT means by focusing its development efforts to creating strong villagers, the Village Quality of Life Index (VQLI) will become a working yardstick with which an individual village community will measure its own progress (or lack of it) towards improving the quality of their village life. The Development Wheel and the attending village-level development workshops are examples of what is meant by adult educational structures so sorely needed in the village. Creatively linking an individual project with village quality of life issues and on-going adult educational efforts will be the hallmark of projects which the Solomon Islands Development Trust will be anxious to fund.

Those project holders who wish to pursue development projects which pay little or no attention to those issues which SIDT finds so important may indeed find overseas funding groups which are less sensitive to quality of life issues and on-going adult education patterns. However, by refusing to allow SIDT to assist them, they are forcing SIDT to overlook their application. The Solomon Islands Development Trust was created "to develop the people of the Solomon Islands, especially the rural area, in a self-reliant and technologically appropriate manner." We, the Trustees of SIDT, are convinced that coming project development, quality of life issues, and on-going adult education patterns into a unified goal we can best accomplish the goal of developing a self-reliant people.

The program approach to project development will also be most helpful in fulfilling our special mandates. It will help us create new patterns for women's role in development as well as assist us in formulating practical ways of planning projects "with the applicant (both community and individual)." Most importantly this approach puts the village person on notice that development is fundamentally an internal growth process of the person and the community and less a change in material well being.

20 September 1982  
Trustees/John Roughan  
Solomon Islands Development Trust



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